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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2086

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15 December 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## DISSIDENT COMMENTS ON CURRENT SITUATION IN HUNGARY

Paris SVEDECT VI in Czech No 67, 1982 pp 461-467

[Excerpt] Private individuals in Hungary have now for several years had the right to buy themselves a business in any area of the economy. The demand is high because the prospects of profit are enormous. The state sells a license valid for 5 years, and is authorized to inspect the quality of the services provided by the private undertaking. If a private individual wants to continue being a proprietor after the first 5 years, he must pay to renew his license. Even so, this process is profitable for both sides; 15 percent of businesses are now in private hands. In 1982 private ownership expanded to industry. Today, every Hungarian has the right to establish (or to renew) a business in any branch of industry on condition that it does not employ more than 10 persons. Profit sharing was initiated in "national" enterprises and there is a rather liberal decentralization of enterprises, the possibility of concluding contracts directly in capitalist countries, and of producing (outside the plan) parts or other "bottleneck" goods. In other words, immediate needs of the market are being taken into account. It is even possible to buy shares in private cooperatives.

It is true that the regime tries to maintain the number of private enterprises (in industry, commerce and services) at a low level (for ideological reasons--however obscure--and again with an eye fixed on Moscow). It so happened that in the period from 1970 to 1981, the number of workers employed in privately owned enterprises dropped by about 21 percent. That, however, was due to the fact that private enterprises decreased in number as a result of the official policy of giving economic priority--more than in the other Bloc countries--to the production of consumer goods. To be sure, official statistics are practically worthless: not necessarily because of being so falsified, but because they simply do not take account of (and are neither capable nor willing to take account of) the balance sheet of the "second economy" which amounts to hundreds of millions of forints each year.

For the time being this chastely concealed trend toward private capitalist enterprise has not run into publicly expressed Soviet criticism (although allusions to it, characterized privately by Hungarian officials as denunciations, have been expressed by Czech experts at CEMA meetings). On the contrary, Moscow has expressed itself favorably several times about the continuing growth of work productivity in socialist Hungary; needless to say,

without revealing what its principal source was. It is true that there also are problems which indicate that even the Hungarian "economic miracle" will not last for ever, and that even that country will not continue to remain exempt from the consequences of the crisis in the other Bloc countries. First of all, Hungary is heavily indebted to Western banks (8 billion dollars); the per capita debt is even greater than in Poland. Even the payment of interest on those loans encounters great difficulties; in order to discharge its obligations, Budapest must continue to borrow; however, Western banks which were so badly burned in Poland do not intend to take excessive risks anywhere in East Europe (the major portion of credits is guaranteed by the governments of the lending countries). There is even talk to the effect that nothing will be loaned to Hungary in 1984. Nevertheless, Hungary was accepted as a member of the International Monetary Fund this year. The Kadar government gave its population a summer shock: at the beginning of August it announced a 20 percent increase in the prices of bread, coffee, flour, rice and other foodstuffs, and 50 to 120 percent in bus and railroad fares; and it did not conceal the possibility of further "price adjustments."

#### Hungarian Dissident Movement

There is talk and writing about Hungary being the most liberal barracks in the barracks system of the Soviet Bloc ("a green revolution," "a goulash archipelago"). Kadar is said to have succeeded in concluding a settlement between the rulers and the citizens (according to the principle of "whoever is not against us is with us," and also because of the widely held view that this man is thousand times better than any kind of a Moscow-manipulated puppet like Husak); relations are said to have normalized to the satisfaction of both sides, political prisoners and political trials do not exist, and dissidents can be counted on the fingers of one hand. To be precise, the reality is somewhat different. In the lead article of the first issue of the Hungarian samizdat (dissident) periodical BESZELO\* one reads:

"It is true that in the last decade there has been no strike in Hungary which would halt the work of an entire enterprise. However, strikes do appear at lower levels, in workshops and guilds. It is a fact that the press in most cases is stifled by the self-censorship of authors and editors. And yet from time to time a periodical will print an unpublishable manuscript and staunchly defend its editorial policy. It is a fact that obedient people head the church, people who are either tainted by cooperation with the authorities or who are thoroughly corrupt. However, the collaboration of ecclesiastics and state dignitaries cannot prevent the rise of independent religious movements

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\*Issued in Budapest in December 1981, 120 pages, in a printing of 1,100 copies. In April 1982 the publishers, whose full names are given, released a second issue with some noteworthy studies: about the peace movement among Hungarian Catholics, the reaction of the Hungarian public to events in Poland after the declaration of martial law, and the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia. The text of the lead article of the first issue may be read in a Czech translation in the publication 150000 SLOV, No 1, 1982.

inside and outside individual denominations. It is true that the results of elections are always prepared in advance behind the scenes, while the only option available to the voters is to lift their hand when instructed to do so. It also happens, however, that members of cooperatives or basic organizations of communist youth, the party or the trade unions suddenly feel fed up with this and simply do not elect the official candidates. And then there are also some young people, full of resolve, who regularly travel to Romania and Slovakia in order to bring back evidence about the fate of Hungarians living abroad, in order to help when it is possible to do so, without regard to the fact that authorities disapprove of these actions, and that their disapproval often is not just passive. There also are solitary seekers of the truth who will never be reconciled to the premise that authority should be omnipotent."

Following a long pause after the suppressed national revolt of autumn 1956, the Hungarian dissident again raised his voice in 1977, when 34 Hungarian intellectuals signed a declaration of solidarity with Charter 77. Moreover, some of the signatories were people who belong to the young generation and who up till now have not expressed themselves politically. It is from among these that today's intellectual opposition spokesmen have been recruited. In contrast to its Marxist ("Lukas") predecessors, the present opposition no longer takes an interest in theoretical speculations, still less in the merits of this or that "face" of socialism. Their attention is focused on society's real problems--and not just the Hungarian ones; problems concerning existence, human and civil rights, ecology, oppression, persecution, censorship conducted under the slogan of a "better tomorrow," and breaking through the regime's policy of isolation from the rest of the world. A series of monographic works has come into existence. In the fall of 1978, "Monday university courses" began in Budapest, modeled along the lines of the "flying universities" of Poland and Czechoslovakia. At that time there was also established the first (technically poorly equipped) samizdat publishing house. A portion of its output appears in printed form in Paris in the periodical MAGYAR FUZETEK, circulated in the West, but also circulating in large numbers inside Hungary.

From the beginning, Hungarian opposition considered itself to be a cultural rather than a political group movement. Writer Gyorgy Dalos formulated it as follows: "We are a cultural opposition...whose mission in contemporary Hungarian society is not to conduct a political struggle against the existing order but to create a new unofficial culture." These are evident echoes of a similar effort inside Czechoslovakia to create a "second culture." Numerous translations of Western novels and political literature have appeared in the samizdat issues. In 1979, two young sociologists, Peter Farkas and Gabor Nemeth, published interviews with 36 intellectuals about the regime's policy concerning publication and censorship. At the turn of the years 1980-1981, the democratization process in Poland exerted a definite albeit slowly materializing influence on the Hungarian community. Calls for more penetrating reforms and broader freedoms were heard in universities, in the official union of communist youth, in writer and artist organizations. As is customary in similar situations, representatives of the authorities

issued an order for a propaganda anti-campaign, but they did not quite know how to deal with a "second public opinion" (in view of their wish at the same time to support and expand a "second"--private enterprise--economy. The relationship between these two issues did not just concern internal politics; an excessively harsh persecution of "those who think otherwise," police actions against them and their eventual imprisonment, would have had a negative effect in the "capitalist West," on whose credits "the second economy" was and is so dependent. The regime resorted to a less drastic penalization of some of the dissidents: loss of jobs, ban on travel, telephone monitoring, inspection of correspondence.

#### Samizdat Book-Stores

The catalog of a new book-store in Budapest appeared during the middle of February 1981. It is only a kind of an apartment-based shop but samizdat literature is being sold there to this day--every Tuesday evening. The shop's owner is none other but Lazzslo Rajk, the son of a high Communist functionary, who was executed during the Stalin purges in 1949. In other words, a person whom Kadar would hate very much to put behind bars.

In April of the same year (1981), the first printed samizdat was published, in the form of a primarily political periodical MAGYAR FIGYELO (Hungarian Observer), with extensive reports from Poland, analyses of the present-day Hungarian society, and reports about the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania and Slovakia. Another periodical, evidently inspired by the "New Left" movement in the West, KISUGO, unmasked the liberal rhetoric of the Kadar regime, and called for a more decisive and open civic opposition. At the beginning of the current year an independent publishing house (modeled after the Polish NOWA) appeared in Budapest. It is managed by Gabor Demszky. So far it has issued several essays and samizdat reprints. In August of this year, apparently more to calm the concerned supervisory Soviet embassy officials than to cater to any domestic concern, Demszky was sentenced to a fine (for illicit activity) of 4,000 forints (in case of incollectibility to 20 days in prison). This was no draconic measure when compared to sentences meted out for a similar offense in other countries. Even so, more than 20 Hungarian writers and artists (among them Gyula Illyes and film director Miklos Jancso) immediately protested to party and government organs.

#### Fund to Help the Poor

Indisputably, however, the most remarkable undertaking of contemporary Hungarian dissidents in SZETA, the "Fund to Help the Poor" that was established in November 1979. Another private enterprise, this one is the most original of all. Official statistics do not conceal the fact that over 20 percent of the Hungarian population lead an existence which falls under the minimum living standard. A shameful figure for allegedly socialist state, which does not contest it, is silent about it, and is unable to change it. SZETA decided to apply self-help: in 1 year it collected almost 100,000 forints, tons of clothing, and other necessities, and distributed them to the poorest families (with the most children) in the country. In addition, many of them were given legal aid (just as in the Polish Committee for the Defense of the



Workers), and citizen's attention was directed to regulations and rules concerning the area of social care which are little used, either because of ignorance or because of lack of civic courage. Also the method which SZETA uses to obtain financial means is original, and has an indisputable political impact. It arranges concert programs and exhibitions from which the entire profits are donated to the poor. The regime reacted but, as often happens in Hungary, in an ambiguous way. The police stopped the first public concert given by SZETA in Budapest, but an exhibition of modern pictures, combined with an auction for the benefit of the poor people, was not only not prohibited by the authorities, but the organizers were told that the authorities would not object if the event took place in the hall of the Budapest district committee of the National Front! Works were exhibited by 130 painters and the auction brought in 150,000 forints. SZETA organized other similar undertakings, among them a summer camp at Lake Balaton for children of poor Polish families. All this in the Hungarian Socialist Republic--and behold--it did not disintegrate. There are even some Western observers who assert that after the weakening of the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia (by imprisonment, police persecution, surveillance, and compulsory emigration), and after the driving of Solidarity into an uneasy illegality in Poland, and after the neutralization of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, Hungary today is the only Eastern Bloc country where the opposition movement grows stronger and is being organized in new forms, dictated by past experience.\* One of its noteworthy features is its unconcealed solidarity with the movements of citizen initiative in other countries of real socialism. This was demonstrated again on 31 August of this year: of all of the Bloc countries, excluding Poland, a public demonstration of sympathy for Solidarity on the occasion of the second anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk agreement was held only in Hungary's capital. The call for this was issued by László Rajek and his comrades. On the day the demonstration was planned, however, they were detained by the police for several hours. The police also surrounded the main thoroughfares of central Budapest. Despite all this, perhaps a hundred demonstrators managed to break through to General Bem Square where the Hungarian revolution had erupted in 1956. Tibor Pákh, a dissident famous in Hungary because of his recent hunger-strike protest, spoke to the gathering. In other words, it was a display of a determined Hungarian citizen initiative that wants to persist and to survive.

### Prospects

For how long? Forty years of experience in all countries of the Soviet Bloc prompt utmost caution in evaluating the prospects and capabilities of an opposition, albeit predominantly cultural, within the countries ruled by Soviet-type, basically still Stalinist, regimes. Not even Kadarism can outreach its shadow. The Hungarian system, like all its sister regimes, can be improved, shortchanged ideologically, modified economically, it can patch up holes of all kinds and even give the police an occasional rest, but its basic make-up, its pyramidal power structure, must remain untouched--cost

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\*Bill Lomax, "The Rise of the Democratic Opposition," Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, London, No 3-4, Summer 1982.

what may. That is because a structural reconstruction does not lead to a reform of the system but to its dismantling. All reform attempts in these countries in the last 30 years have demonstrated this conclusively, and therefore all of them had to be crushed by force, or at least neutralized and finally eroded into disappearance.

Much in Hungary will depend on whether Kadar and his successors succeed in keeping the Hungarian economy above water (and that presupposes, among other things, continuing the present hazardous dance between a command and a market-oriented economy), and hand in hand with it maintaining the relatively liberal attitudes which the regime today either believes in or at least pretends that it does. If this does not work out, the country will be plunged into an economic ruin that has already overtaken Poland and Romania (with Czechoslovakia waiting in the wings): in such a situation a repressive, crudely authoritarian policy usually is not long in coming. Hungarian dissidents have no other choice than to prepare themselves for both of these eventualities.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WOZNIAK MAKES OCTOBER REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

LD052114 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1532 GMT 5 Nov 82

[Speech by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau member and first secretary of Warsaw PZPR Committee, at a meeting held in Warsaw's Wielki Theater to celebrate the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and citizens, respected guests, representatives of the diplomatic corps of the fraternal countries:

In accordance with many years' tradition, today we celebrate the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR].

The victory of Great October meant the opening of the way to the implementation of the highest social values and the most sublime ideals. The October Revolution, overthrowing the power of the exploiting classes, socializing the means of production, laid the foundation for the order of social justice, and by the authority of the first decrees of the new power, it announced peace and the right to self-determination of nations to the world.

The events of the memorable 1917 confirmed the correctness of the Marxist theory of revolution developed by Vladimir Lenin, and of his concept of a party of the new type. The Leninist party of the Bolsheviks became a true revolutionary avant-garde of the masses. It was characterized by a high consciousness, and was guided by a strategy and tactics that ensured concentration and organization for the cause of the revolution of the working class and working people.

The party was characterized by cohesiveness and discipline. It was closely connected with the masses. It lived their lives, it led them and at the same time it learned from them. It was a party of zealous ideological stance and of iron organization. Such a party was shaped by Lenin, and only such a party was able to be victorious in a struggle in which the stakes were both the future of the peoples of Russia and the future of the world's working people.

A proper relation to great events, to epoch-making turning points in the history of mankind, has always been and always remains the practical yardstick that defines the genuine ideological and political countenance of all social forces.

It was no different and it is no different with Great October. One's attitude to the socialist revolution and to Leninism remains a universal criterion of one's involvement on the side of the social progress, democracy and justice. The coming into being 60 years ago of the USSR--the first socialist state in the world--was a momentous event of historic significance for the fate of the whole world, a result of the victorious October. The creation of the USSR made it possible to strengthen young Soviet authority and to undertake, for the first time in the world, the task of building a society without social exploitation and injustice. It made it possible for the country to emerge from the enormity of regression that had been inherited after the rule of the czars. From hard work and an unshakable will to win, a uniform multinational socialist power came into being. It had great economic, scientific and cultural potential. It enjoyed great authority. Today it is the main force in the socialist community, the mainstay of forces of peace and progress throughout the world.

Dear comrades, the participation of our compatriots in the GOSR and in the formation of the beginnings of the Soviet state belongs to the most beautiful eras in the Polish revolutionary movement. Polish revolutionaries, fighting side by side with the working people of Russia, contributed to the work of creating the new era and implemented the prospect of freedom and independence of our nation. The young Soviet authority was the first government in the world that, in full voice and with consistency, expressed its support for the right of the Polish nation to have an independent existence, and it invalidated for all time all partition pacts.

History in the 20 years between wars resolutely confirms that hostility toward the Soviet Union damages our vital national and state interests, that it leads to defeats and misfortunes. This truth has its topicality today. The anti-Soviet campaign that not long ago was storming through our country was not able to undermine this. Its initiators were not working in the interest of our country but arousing antipathy or even hatred toward everything connected with the ideal of socialism. They were working to exploit our country and nation as a tool in the struggle against the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community.

Political adventures in our country, inspired by reactionary circles in the West, have never accepted the reality based on the realization of the wise and clear direction that is included in the July Manifesto of the PKWN [communist-backed war-time Polish Government] that reads: For 400 years there was a period of incessant conflict, damaging for all sides, between the Poles and the Ukrainians, Poles and Belorussians and Poles and Russians. A historic turning point has been achieved in those relations now. Conflict has given place to friendship and cooperation, which are being dictated by vital bilateral interests. Friendship and fighting cooperation that was initiated by brotherhood-in-arms of the Polish and Red armies has turned into lasting alliances and neighborly cooperation since the war. The Socialist Union--its leaders have repeatedly emphasized this--needs an independent, strong and stable Poland. From our point of view, confronted by increased threats to peace, the value of our alliances with the Soviet Union and all Warsaw Pact states is of even greater significance.

Poland can exist and develop in a sovereign fashion only as a socialist country, in unfailing alliance with the socialist community. This was farsightedly established by the 1943 PPR [Polish Workers' Party] declaration: "What We Are Fighting For." That declaration said "The establishment of goodneighborly and allied relations with the USSR will become an important factor in consolidating our defensive system, our economic potential and our position in Europe." And this is just what the enemies of Poland and of the Soviet Union--the enemies of socialism--do not want. For our opponents, both without and within, we have only one, resolute, answer. The Polish People's Republic is and will be a genuine and credible ally of the USSR, and an unfailing link in the socialist community and in the international peace front.

Comrades and citizens, the experiences of the Soviet Union found their first expression and confirmation in the October Revolution, the principles of the socialist system that correctly expressed the contents of a new historic epoch. They exert a great influence on the international communist and workers' movement, and they create for them sources of inspiration--as Vladimir Lenin wrote--"on a truly democratic and truly internationalist basis." The precondition for a proper unfolding of the revolutionary processes and for socialist construction in every country is a creative observance of those principles and rules, and of the connections between them and national peculiarities in a manner adapted to the historically formed conditions of particular nations and states. Departures from these principles have always generated an insufficiency of socialism, have brought about deformations and errors, have become sources of holdups in development, of social tensions and conflicts. Such is the genesis of the present crisis. That was how it was assessed by our Ninth Party Congress. We are persistently uprooting these deformations, basing ourselves on the universal principles for the construction of socialism, drawing on the experience of the fraternal countries. From the great achievement of the land of the Soviets. We are boldly implementing solutions in accordance with the spirit of socialist renewal.

This is primarily a reform of the economic system: a complex and difficult reform, which sometimes requires corrections in its course, but which changes our economy for the good and also brings about the desired changes in the way people think.

We attach great hopes that it will heal the economy, overcome the crisis, improve the market situation, fully reconstruct the social sense of security of working people, and in the somewhat longer run, improve their standard of living. The reform should become an opportunity for the nation's younger generation, for a broad awakening of social activity, for the shaping of the work ethic in fulfilling life's aspirations.

This program includes a series of new legal regulations that create the bases for improving institutions of sociopolitical life, for equipping its social factors with broad powers in the areas of initiatives, consultation and control of decisions at all levels of authority and administration, and for strengthening the status of the law as a factor affecting the moral norms of the public.

We have announced a war against the deformations of socialism wherever voluntarism, bureaucratism, order-giving, soullessness, arrogance, incompetence and other shortcomings may bring about deformations. Our resoluteness can be measured by the fact that following the introduction of martial law, the program of socialist renewal--a program of fundamental and consistent transformations--is being implemented particularly actively and with all determination.

Just under a year ago, a deadly threat hung over our country. The threat to its system's socialist foundations grew. It became necessary to resort to extraordinary measures. The introduction of martial law averted a national catastrophe of incalculable consequences. It was necessary for our revolution to defend itself. Lenin indicated that only a revolution that is able to defend itself is worth something. There are still many difficult days and problems before us. The tough class struggle is proceeding in all fields--in the economy, in social problems, in ideology. Hostile foreign centers and the antisocialist opposition at home are stepping up their efforts to hold up the process of normalization, to disturb that which is most threatening to their end--socialist renewal, normalization, fortification of the people's state. Admittedly, we have merely begun on this road. An enormous stretch still lies before us. We are profoundly convinced that only socialism can resolve our development problems and can renew our life in accordance with today's and tomorrow's aims and needs. Nor can there be any doubt that only the PZPR--implementing its leading role, regenerating a Leninist-style of action, ideological adherence to principles, openness to human affairs, modesty--will continually and effectively lead this process in alliance with the fraternal parties, will regain full social confidence, establish a capacity for action, and will strengthen the links with the working class and with society as a whole.

A socialist Poland, cured of crisis, freed from deformations, will rebuild its international authority and prestige, as well as its role as an important factor in the progressive and peaceful changes in Europe and in the world. This is one of the principal tasks of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. This is our great, common obligation.

Comrades and citizens, striving for all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union has found confirmation in a document of historical significance--the 1945 Polish-Soviet treaty of friendship, mutual aid and postwar cooperation. This was the implementation of the strivings of both our parties, whose ideological unity and political cooperation became a principal factor in arranging good neighbor relations between Poland and the USSR, and in making them closer. Fraternal cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU has this considerable significance also today.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation have been an important lever in the development of our country. Both in the first period of people's power, and later, in successive phases of socialist construction, the Soviet Union remained our most important and immensely valuable economic partner. The complementary nature of both national economies, which becomes more clearly marked as our country develops, the possibilities connected with contiguous neighborliness, a beneficial atmosphere formed by many factors--starting with

a community of ideological aims through mutual understanding and intensive actions of parties, governments and economic apparatus of both countries, and ending with the ease of establishing friendships between people--have enabled the rapid development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in practically all areas.

In overcoming the crisis that plagues us today, a great role is played by the possibility of using various forms and means of economic aid from the Soviet Union, and by the clearly increasing economic cooperation both with the Soviet Union and the other member-states of CEMA, in the entirety of structural changes of our country's economy. This has particular significance in the face of the breakdown of our supply ties with Western countries as the result of their restrictive economic policy. Possibilities to purchase raw and other materials and components that are necessary for the functioning of the economy from capitalist countries have decreased drastically. Many enterprises were faced with a halt to production.

In such conditions it is only expansion of economic cooperation with the USSR that could ease our difficulties and in many cases actually save us. Supplies of raw and other materials for our industry constitute a key problem for our economy. In this field, cooperation with the Soviet Union plays a decisive role.

Almost two-thirds of all imported raw and other materials for our economy come from the socialist countries. Seventy percent of this is made up of deliveries from the Soviet Union. Oil and natural gas are of special significance here. For our part, we currently supply the Soviet Union with 43 percent of our total export of machinery and installations. This, in our economic condition, is a most beneficial proportion. Meeting our current requirements halfway, the Soviet Union has agreed to an arrangement whereby, during the current year, the turnover between our two countries will not, on our part, be balanced fully. We have received a Soviet (?100) percent credit, payments of which commence in (?1985) to enable us to eliminate our deficit that, without the debts incurred over the past years, will amount in (?1983) alone to R1 billion. The Soviet leadership has already agreed to a similar solution for 1983 as well. The decisions, already taken, whereby the Soviet Union will join in the work to complete certain industrial investment projects on Poland's territory, also pertain to economic issues of very great importance to us.

In a situation in which certain circles in the West that are hostile to us escalate the policy of economic boycott of Poland, cooperation with the Soviet Union is the most important factor in the struggle to get Poland out of the crisis and onto the path of propitious development. We shall do all we can to make it come about as soon as possible, so that the period in which our cooperation is mainly characterized by aid from the Soviet Union gives way to a period in which it will have become possible for us to be equal trading partners.

Our of all the fields of Polish-Soviet cooperation, it is above all the extensive cooperation between scientists from our countries and between our higher education systems that has brought about continues to achieve tangible results. Thanks to this, it has been possible for us to develop a number of unique

directions in research and to train our own scientific cadres in them, and also thanks to this a Pole became a cosmonaut. The extensive cooperation in all fields of creative endeavor and dissemination of culture plays an important part that serves to enrich our national culture and our cultural life. One also has to emphasize the importance, (?greater than at any other time before), of the cooperation between organizations of young people and, generally, of the ever closer contacts between the young generation and Soviet youth.

Comrades, the Great October and, subsequently, the setting up of the USSR, opened up a new stage, a hopeful stage in the struggle waged by the nations and the entire progressive mankind against wars, aggression, and (?territorial gains), for a (?lasting and just) peace. The Lenin peace decree was the first harbinger of a world free from war. Even though (?this road is still long and arduous, one can say) that this prediction will be fulfilled. And the 21st century is not far off. It will, at long last, be the crowning glory for the (?Leninist humanist peace ideals). It will finally free mankind from its (?fear) of annihilation. It will put mankind on the road to mutual trust and cooperation among nations.

The humanitarian and internationalist principles of the Soviet foreign policy shone with all their brightness when the Red Army--together with the partisans fighting at the enemy's rear, and the entire Soviet nation--bore the main weight of the heroic battle against the Third Reich paying a huge sacrifice in blood not only in defence of their own freedom, but also to liberate mankind from the nightmare of Hitlerism.

The victory thus gained--in which the Polish nation and Polish soldiers also played an honorable part--changed the political and territorial map of Europe upon the road to socialism. This was the second historic breakthrough in the 20th century, after the October Revolution, with which it is closely connected. The legacy of the October Revolution also included the avalanche of the decolonization process and the emancipation of the nations that throughout centuries had been subjected to the cruel pressure of imperialism. The Soviet Union ceaselessly confirms that, in accordance with its ideological and class essence, it consistently aims at peace and at cooperation among nations. The aim of its policies was and is to erase war completely from international relations. In the face of the threat of nuclear war, only this policy can provide humanity with a way out of total extinction. In order to carry out this great task it was essential for the Soviet Union to link a far-reaching conception of peace based on an active international policy and defensive might, thus condemning all designs for a military showdown with socialism to be fiascos. Year by year, stage by stage, the Soviet Union expanded and perfected the interaction of these factors. Today they are the property not just of the USSR, but of every socialist state, of their entire political and defensive coalition community in the shape of the Warsaw Pact.

People's Poland and its armed forces, as hitherto, will make their essential contribution to consolidating its strength and unerringness in action. We do not intend to play down the contribution made by others, nor to monopolize any credit. Nevertheless, we have every reason for stating that it is thanks to the merits primarily of the land of the Soviets and the socialist states, of our whole community, that Europe is living through the longest period of



peace in its history. Although this has cost an enormous amount of effort and sacrifice, it has been possible to break up the ice of the Cold War and to shatter the atomic blackmail practiced by imperialism at the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's.

Despite successive threats by West German revisionism and its patrons, it has been possible to defend and consolidate the results of the victory over Hitlerism, which were fought for and won on the battlefield. A long and complex process has made it possible to open the way to the stabilization of peaceful relations on our continent, and to create the infrastructure of detente, which furthers this and finds its supreme achievement in the CSCE Final Act. It is in this long historical view in particular that one ought to consider a further attempt to set back the historical clock made at the beginning of the 1980's by the aggressive U.S. economic-political-military complex. The present American Administration has gone the way of destroying the achievements of detente, exacerbating the international situation, and of stepping up the arms race and of a confrontation course with socialism.

Together with the cold war circles of the other Atlantic states, the American strategists have forced through in NATO a plan to install a large number of weapons of new kinds--rockets in particular--in West Europe.

We have another threat to peace, the greatest since the end of World War II. Alarming signals are heard throughout Europe. All conclusions have to be drawn from this. The Soviet Union has for years been a consistent spokesman for building an effective collective security system in Europe and in the world. It has adopted an unshakable stance of respecting the independence, sovereignty and equality of all states and of noninterference in internal affairs. It is opposed to the use of force in resolving controversial international issues. It is an act of particular significance that the Soviet Union committed itself unilaterally not to be first to use nuclear weapons. This was covered in Leonid Brezhnev's address to the second special UN General Assembly session devoted to disarmament.

There are forces in the West for which this policy is contrary to their interests and, in the crusade against socialism, they are playing with the fate of nations. They are striving to disturb the balance of power in Europe and in the world, and to cause an impasse in the disarmament negotiations. The policy that threatens the achievements of detente and peace in Europe is behind the reaction of the United States and certain other anti-Soviet states to the problems that are at present experienced by Poland. Attempts at interfering in our internal affairs, using pressures and extortion by means of economic sanctions, among others, are evidence of an intention of again playing the so-called Polish card for purposes that are profoundly contrary not only to the interests of Poland and other socialist states, but also all nations of Europe. They are contrary to the interests of peace on our continent. That is why our struggle for the elimination of dangers connected with the activeness of the adventurous antisocialist opposition that cooperates with aggressive groupings of the West, for a return to normalcy, and for the success of democratic reform, and for national accord has important international dimensions. It serves to defend peace, whose value the Polish nation knows as no other.

The international policy of the Polish People's Republic has passed its historic test as a policy of an alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states in the joint struggle for peace and security, detente and disarmament in Europe and in the world. That is the kind of policy it has been, it is and it will remain. Only such a policy can serve Poland, strengthen its sovereignty and security, multiply our contribution to the ideal of saving Europe from a nuclear holocaust.

Comrades and citizens, friendship of Poland and the Soviet Union has passed and is passing its historic test. The ideas of the October Revolution will live forever. They have been confirmed by history. They are being confirmed by the present. The cooperation and alliances of our countries, born out of those ideas, will remain a constant guarantee of our independence, of our security and prosperous development.

Long live the homeland of October--the USSR!

Long live Polish-Soviet friendship!

Long live socialism and peace!

CSO: 2600/113

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

WAR VETERANS COMMITTEE APPOINTEES--A meeting of the National Committee of War Veterans was held today at the central house of the people's army. "Comrade Shefqet Peci was elected chairman of the National Committee of the Albanian People at today's meeting. The committee also elected Comrade Sul Baholli as its general secretary." The meeting was also attended by Comrade Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. In a speech, he stressed the valuable role of veterans for the patriotic and class revolutionary education of the working masses, particularly the young generation, and pointed out some major directions of the work of veterans in the context of the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. [Summary] [AU041944 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Dec 82]

CSO: 2100/8

## NEW LABOR CODE POSTULATES

[Editorial report] AU061226 Sofia Rabotnichesko Delo in Bulgarian on 3 December on pages 1 through 7 carries the 25,000-word "basic postulates on the party concept of the new labor code, worked out by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," adopted by the 29-30 November BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The postulates, "a part of which are directly related to the new labor code, and another part to the social environment and atmosphere which are to be created by their application," represent the broad basis "of a broad discussion of the basic principles, on which the new labor code will later be based," "proposals and suggestions made as a result of this discussion will eventually be incorporated into a draft of the new labor code, which subsequently will be submitted for approval to the National Assembly."

The basic postulates on the party concept of the new labor code consist of eight chapters. The first, entitled "For a Modern and Perspective Approach in Working Out the New Labor Code," describes the old labor code. It is pointed out that "life imposed changes on the old labor code," and subsequently it was amended and supplemented 17 times, something which "has exhausted the possibilities of amending it further." Therefore, "no more amendments, but rather a new labor code is needed." Other reasons for working out a new labor code, as presented by the postulates are: The new stage of socialist construction; the new stage of social development; the consolidation of new socialist forms of life; the new economic approach and its mechanism; the development of science and culture, and so forth. The new labor code is also expected to facilitate "the further development of socialist labor democracy in Bulgaria."

The second chapter--"For Decisive Progress in Perfecting the Material-Technical Conditions of the Labor Process, for Increasing the Quality of Labor"--describes the development of mechanization in Bulgarian industry and the "intellectualization of labor." The new labor code is expected to further enhance these processes, intensify the use of specialists in production and cut down the waste of labor time.

The third chapter--"The New Labor Code and the Consistent Evaluation of the International and Domestic Economic Conditions"--deals with the need to increase the quality of production "in order to produce products of high quality, capable

of competing on the international markets." It describes the functions of the working collective as owner of the socialist property and its role in working out and adopting the counter plan. This chapter deals further on with improving production by "improving the production and social labor conditions," and "better utilizing existing potentials."

The fourth chapter--"For Further Developing and Perfecting Socialist Democracy in the Area of Labor and Labor Relations"--deals with "expanding the rights of the working collectives with the view of turning them into self-governing units." It stresses the need "to increase the rights and responsibilities of the workers," as well as the duty of the administrations "to introduce direct democracy and attract the workers to taking an active role in the decision-making process."

Chapter five--"For a Quality New Role of the Working Collective in the Socialist Labor Relations"--returns to the subject of the working collectives' role. It describes their rights and obligations and their tasks in "preserving socialist property" and "increasing labor effectiveness."

The sixth chapter--"For Expanding the Rights and Duties of the Socialist Personality in the Process of Labor and Their Strictest Observance"--deals with the rights and duties of individual workers. This chapter is a continuation of the previous ones, which dealt with the rights and duties of the working collectives. It goes on to describe those rights and duties, namely, "better utilization of economic stimuli," "participation in production management," "better utilization of labor time," and so forth. This chapter also points out the workers' duties related to creating better safety and hygienic conditions at work places and "more effective utilization of workers' time outside their places of labor."

The seventh chapter--"For Decisively Improving Labor Management"--deals with increasing the effectiveness of labor management and suggests the following measures aimed to achieve this effect: To improve the organization of labor; improve the training of cadres; coordinate scientific-technical research; secure better labor information; secure better utilization of labor resources; establish local councils on labor and social affairs; and so forth.

The last chapter--"For Increasing the Role of the Trade Unions in the Area of Labor and Labor Relations"--charges the trade unions with the responsibility of introducing most of the reforms and improvements enumerated in the previous chapters. It also demands that "the ideological work of the trade unions be improved" and that they participate in organizing socialist competitions. The same chapter also stresses the responsibility of the local party organizations in achieving the effect sought by the new labor code.

No further processing planned.

CSO: 2200/30

## BULGARIA

### JOINT BULGARIAN-TANZANIAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

AU281951 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 28 Nov 82

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)--A communique on the visit to Bulgaria (Nov 24-28) of Tanzania's Prime Minister Mr Cleopa David Msuya, has been released for the press here. A positive assessment is made in it of the development of bilateral relations and of the fulfilment of the agreements reached by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Julius Nyerere.

Bulgaria and Tanzania are ready in future too to create favourable conditions for the development of bilateral relations especially in the economic sphere.

They will actively promote the halting of the arms race and the disarmament. Bulgaria and Tanzania are attaching great importance to the creating of nuclear-free zones, zones of peace and cooperation, in Africa, the Indian Ocean, northern Europe and the region of the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

The two sides assess positively the role and contribution of the organisation for African unity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid. They condemn the acts of the imperialist circles aimed at spreading variance and split among the organisation's member-countries.

Bulgaria and Tanzania back up the struggle of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO and declare themselves in support of the immediate fulfilment of resolution number 435 of the UN Security Council.

They condemn the alliance of the imperialist countries with the racist and fascist regime in Pretoria and the barbarous aggression of the South African Republic on Angola and the other frontline states.

Bulgaria highly esteems Tanzania's contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid and neocolonialism and the positive role of the organisation for African unity and the non-aligned movement.

The two sides condemn Israel's aggression on Lebanon and declare themselves backing the immediate withdrawal of the Israel troops.

Bulgaria and Tanzania are alarmed by the continuing war between Iran and Iraq and think that the controversial issues can be resolved by peaceful means. They stand for a readjustment of the international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, for doing away with any forms of colonialism and neocolonial dependence and of the discriminatory measures in the world trade.

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN-TANZANIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE RELEASED

AU012107 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Joint communique on the visit of Cleopa David Msuya, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria 24-28 November 1982]

[Text] At the invitation of Grisha Filipov, chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Tanzania, paid an official friendly visit to Bulgaria from 24 to 28 November 1982.

The esteemed guest laid a wreath and paid his respects at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and eminent figure of the international communist and workers movement.

During his visit, Comrade Cleopa David Msuya and those accompanying him acquainted themselves with the achievements of the people's Republic of Bulgaria in the sphere of political, economic and cultural development. The prime minister of Tanzania visited a number of economic projects, historic and culturally remarkable sites in Sofia and in the country. He was cordially welcomed everywhere.

Official talks between Grisha Filipov, chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, and Cleopa David Msuya, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

The following persons attended the talks: On the Bulgarian side--Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the national agroindustrial union central council executive committee; Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Asen Velkov, chief of the cabinet of the chairman of the council of ministers; Georgi Georgiev, deputy chairman of the state planning committee; Yordan Tenov, deputy minister of machine building and electronics, and Serafim Serafimov, Bulgarian ambassador to Tanzania.

On the Tanzanian side--Prof Kighoma Malima, minister of state for economic affairs and planning; (Gilman Rutihinda), secretary general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Isaac Sepetu, Tanzanian ambassador to Bulgaria; (Peter Dzh, Ngumbulu), director at the Ministry of Planning and Economy; (M.T.

Kibauana), commissar on matters of foreign financing and technical cooperation at the Ministry of Finance, and (K.P. Muzo), adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the talks, Comrade Grisha Filipov and Comrade Cleopa David Msuya briefed each other on the situation in their countries and on the tasks they face at the present stage of their development. They reviewed bilateral relations and exchanged views on the prospects for and trends in their future development and ways to deepen them.

The prime minister of Tanzania highly assessed the Bulgarian people's successes in building a developed socialist society by fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress.

The chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Bulgaria highly appraised the Tanzanian people's achievements along the path of socio-economic reforms in the country under the leadership of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (SSM).

The two prime ministers were pleased to note that the relations between Bulgaria and Tanzania were developing on an ascending line.

In fulfilling the agreements reached by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, and Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and president of the United Republic of Tanzania, substantial results have been achieved in building industrial projects, in agriculture, trade and other areas.

During the visit, the following documents were signed:

--A protocol on the talks between Comrade Grisha Filipov and Comrade Cleopa D. Msuya;

--A cooperation agreement between the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA) and the Information Agency of the United Republic of Tanzania (Shihata).

The leaders of the governments, of the people's Republic of Bulgaria and of the United Republic of Tanzania, exchanged views on a number of topical international issues. They were pleased to establish that the stands of the two countries on these issues are identical or similar.

The two prime ministers assessed the international situation as being very complicated and tense for which the reactionary imperialistic circles fully bear the responsibility.

The two countries noted with satisfaction that the struggle of the peoples of all countries for peace and against the threat of nuclear war is intensifying.

They emphasized a readiness to actively contribute to halting the arms race and rearmament. In this connection, the latest peace initiatives of the



Soviet Union and particularly its commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, were noted. They also called upon the other countries to undertake this obligation.

The two countries confirmed the importance of setting up nuclear-free zones, zones of peace and cooperation in various areas in the world, particularly in Africa, the Indian Ocean, northern Europe, the Balkans and in the Mediterranean.

They expressed the hope that the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States held in Geneva on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe and on limiting and reducing strategic weapons as well, as the Vienna talks on reducing the armed forces and armaments in central Europe will conclude with an agreement to strictly observe the equality and equal security of all states. The prime ministers of the two countries are agreed that a successful end of the Madrid meeting and the approval of a substantive political document providing for the convocation of a conference on strengthening the measures for maintaining confidence and security, on disarmament in Europe and on the balanced progress of all sections of the Helsinki final act will contribute not only to consistently continuing the all-European process of detente but also to strengthening peace and security in the world and to developing useful cooperation among all countries and peoples.

The two government leaders exchanged views on the situation in Africa. They positively assessed the OAU's role in and contribution to the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid. The two prime ministers particularly condemned the actions of the imperialistic circles to create discord and dissidence among the OAU member countries which have recently particularly intensified.

They expressed full support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia, under its only legitimate representative--SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]--for national liberation and for true independence. They also categorically declared themselves in favor of the comprehensive and immediate fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The two sides expressed wholehearted support for the struggle of the people of South Africa against racial discrimination and the system of apartheid as well as for national liberation and social progress.

They most strictly condemned the overt alliance of the imperialistic countries with the racist and fascist regime of Pretoria and also condemned the constant barbarous aggression to which the South African Republic subjects the people's Republic of Angola and the other frontline countries.

The people's Republic of Bulgaria highly appraises Tanzania's contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and racism as well as to realizing and strengthening the political and economic independence of the African countries as well as its positive role in the OAU and in the movement of nonaligned countries.

The United Republic of Tanzania highly appraised the peaceful and constructive foreign policy of the people's Republic of Bulgaria for strengthening peace, cooperation and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. The United Republic of Tanzania has supported Bulgaria's initiative to turn the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

The two sides sharply condemned the Israeli aggression against sovereign Lebanon. They expressed themselves in favor of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese territory.

The two sides asserted that a lasting and just peace in the Middle East can be achieved only after the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories it occupied after 1967 and securing the legitimate right of self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine, including the establishment of an independent state and the guarantee of the right of existence of all states in this area.

The two sides expressed serious anxiety over the continuing fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. They are of the opinion that all disputes between the two countries can be resolved through peaceful means.

The two leaders were pleased to note the important role played by the non-aligned countries movement in the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism as well as for strengthening peace and security in the world.

The people's Republic of Bulgaria and the United Republic of Tanzania expressed themselves in favor of reforming international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and of liquidating all forms of colonial and neocolonial independence as well as discrimination measures in international trade.

The two sides emphasized the role of the United Nations in safeguarding and strengthening world peace and security and in developing cooperation among all peoples and countries.

The prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania expressed warm gratitude for the cordial welcome accorded to him and to those accompanying him. He invited Grisha Filipov, chairman of the council of ministers of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay an official friendly visit to Tanzania. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Sofia, November 1982

CSO: 2200/30

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

TELEPHONE AUTOMATION INCREASE--In order to improve telephone services for the population in the border areas and in the settlements of the fourth and fifth functional category, the Ministry of Communications has developed a special program. The program provides for 50 automatic telephone stations to be installed in the centers of the conurbation systems. This will make it possible to service individual municipalities, and hence to integrate these areas into the Okrug and national communication system. [Text] [AU051635 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Nov 82 p 2]

AUSTRIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION--Sofia, 1 Dec [BTA]--A delegation of the amalgamation of Austrian trade unions led by the Secretary General Erich (Hoffsteter), was on a visit to Bulgaria, 28 through 30 November, at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgaria trade unions. The Austrian guests were received by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian trade unions. During the talks between the leaderships of the two organisations the results of the previous cooperation were reviewed and satisfaction was expressed with its consolidation and deepening. Discussion went also on the new forms of further extending of relations and direct communication between the workers of the two countries, stress being laid on the role in this respect of the reciprocal exchange along the line of social tourism. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 1 Dec 82]

BULGARIAN-KAMPUCHEAN TRADE PROTOCOL--Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA)--A trade and payments protocol for 1983 was signed here today by Bulgaria and Kampuchea. The document provides for diversifying the two countries' export lists. The protocol was signed by Mr Krustyu Popov, Bulgaria's deputy minister of foreign trade, and Mr Thi Ho, deputy minister of planning and economic cooperation of Kampuchea. [Text] [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 3 Dec 82]

PROTOCOL WITH YEMEN--Sofia, 3 December (BTA)--A cooperation protocol between the Bulgaro-Yemeni and the Yemeni-Bulgarian friendship societies was signed here today by the chairmen of the two societies: Mr Yancho Georgiev, member of the CC of the BCP and head of the "Information-Sociology Centre" with the CC of the BCP, and Mr (Anis Hassan Yahia), secretary of the CC of the Yemen Socialist Party. The document extends on a period of 2 years and provides for initiatives contributing to the development and deepening of the relations between the two countries. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 3 Dec 82]

BULGARIA-YUGOSLAVIA: TOURISM--Sofia, 4 December [BTA]--Seven hundred twenty-five thousand seven hundred Yugoslavs visited Bulgaria last year. The excellent transport facilities--air, rail and motorway, and the absence of a language barrier [the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav languages are very close] served as good prerequisites for this exchange. The Yugoslav tourists prefer individual to package travel in Bulgaria. They visit here with friends and relatives and, when in need of accommodation, chose private lodgings or hotels. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 4 Dec 82]

DUTCH DELEGATION SEES TANCHEV--Sofia, 2 December (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council, received a delegation of the political party of radical democrats, led by Mr (Gisbert Wiljamsen), secretary on the international questions of the party. The Dutch delegation is on visit here at the invitation of the standing commission of the Bulgarian Agrarian union. [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 2 Dec 82]

DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM AFRICA--Sofia, 4 December (BTA)--A delegation of the CC of the BCP, led by Mr Georgi Petrov, member of the CC of the BCP, and first deputy head of the "People's Councils and Mass Organizations" department with the CC of the BCP, returned to Bulgaria today. The delegation visited the people's Republic of Congo, the people's revolutionary Republic of Guinea and the Republic Guinea-Bissau. During its stay in these countries the delegation had talks on the further strengthening of the contacts of the Bulgarian Communist Party with the Congolese Labour Party, the African Party for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape de Verde, and Parti-etat de Guinee. [Text] [AU051635 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 4 Dec 82]

CSO: 2200/30

TEXT OF CHNOUPEK FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORT TO FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

Prague PRACE in Czech 10 Nov 82 pp 3, 4, 5

[Text of Report by Foreign Affairs Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to the Federal Assembly]

[Text] I come before you, the supreme representative body of our people, with a report on Czechoslovak foreign policy covering the period since October 1979, amid worrisome circumstances marked with concern, complications and a sharpening of the international situation. I come to report to you on the 3 years during which the work in all spheres of our life was influenced by such key events as the 16th CPCZ Congress, the 26th CPSU Congress, our elections for the representative bodies, after which the federal government presented its program to this Federal Assembly which approved it.

We can be justifiably proud of a positive balance. In the cited period we have--in close coordination with the fraternal socialist countries--contributed in a principled manner to the struggle for peace and progress, and have done all we could to ensure that the international position of socialist Czechoslovakia, our authority and prestige might grow, that we might continue to be considered a reliable and sought-after partner.

We were able to achieve such results only thanks to the fact that the immutable principle and cornerstone of the building of a socialist society have been and remain our indivisible relations and bonds of alliance with the USSR.

We are, therefore, justly proud that, together with the Soviet people and millions of their friends, we can celebrate already the 65th anniversary of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, the 60th anniversary of the birth of the USSR, amid a general blossoming of its forces. We remember that only the advent of this most just and most humane social system made possible such a unique document as the Leninist Document on Peace which found its logical continuation in the grand Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress with which the 16th CPCZ Congress was in full accord. The Peace Program incorporates Soviet proposals directed at the resolution of the most burning problems of today--the elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe--and charts a positive program which places in sharp contrast the imperialist course toward confrontation and feverish armament with the impossible objective of halting the historical process of the advent of socialism.

An analysis of current international events clearly shows that socialism--this enormous catalyst of global progress--increasingly determines international development as its most influential social force.

"In defiance of all the intrigues of world imperialism," stated Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress, "it has been possible to safeguard peace and develop the process of detente, strengthen international security and achieve further successes in the struggle for peace, social progress and freedom of nations."

#### Detente--the Only Suitable Alternative

If in its long-term objective legality the balance of forces is developing in favor of peace and progress, it is especially valid in Europe where two world war catastrophes had flared, but which has now lived in peace for 37 years.

It is precisely here on this war-ravaged continent that the socialist countries have during the 1970s applied one of the fundamental principles of Leninist policy, namely, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. During that decade, this policy, known as detente, became deeply rooted not only in the consciousness of the broadest popular masses but also within these political, economic and social circles which think realistically, as the only alternative in the atomic age. Detente has spread deep roots, despite all attempts to slow it down or even bring it to a halt. Consequently, all the commitments stemming from the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, remain valid to this day. Prerequisites still exist to make the process of detente continue, even to make it broader, more effective and dynamic, while expanding it to additional geographic areas. As for ourselves, we are doing everything in our power to achieve precisely that.

The ruling circles of the United States obviously have opposite views on the subject and they are the ones who have caused the current tense situation in the world. They are the ones who in the late 1970s and early 1980s initiated a significantly more aggressive orientation toward a balance of forces favoring imperialism.

Let us remember that in the past the most reactionary proponents of imperialism have never made any secret of their opposition to the policy of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and easing of tensions. They have never reconciled themselves with a retreat from confrontation, not even in the early 1970s, during the time of the Helsinki Conference, or in the period which followed. Their arguments, then as today, have the same denominator, namely, that detente is a one-way street advantageous to the East, while selling out the interests of the West.

At the same time, it is they who initiated the new crusade against socialism and communism by ruthless application of a policy of force, threats, diktat and willful delineation of "spheres of influence." More recently, this has even included insults, slanderous rhetoric and twisting of facts, in other words, the unleashing of psychological war such as the world had not seen since the Dulles era, and which began to undermine not only equitable and

mutually beneficial relations among states, but even the very foundations of peace and international security.

Thus, no longer merely an ideological struggle based on facts, but psychological warfare aimed directly at changing the system in the socialist countries, with active participation of even the top Washington officials and recently the State Department itself, which hosted a subversive conference on the so-called democratization tendencies in communist countries, which really dealt with nothing but the planning of subversion and even more intensive interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

The course of adventurism, pressures and unconcealed arrogance, however, has not evoked the kind of response the organizers had hoped for. On the contrary, nations responded with an explosion of massive antiwar, antinuclear and antimissile movements which are without precedent since World War II.

These realities were so potently demonstrated that they could not be merely shurged off even in the very citadel of imperialism. Under their impact, attitudes had to be at least partially modified. While at first imperialism wanted to erect an iron curtain between the East and the West with the aim of blocking and rejecting dialogue, or tying its resumption to unacceptable preconditions, later Washington was forced even but its own allies to reconsider. Where these circles tried to coerce their allies into closing all channels of economic cooperation and trade with the East, they themselves had to come to realize that such projects as the Siberian pipeline to Western Europe would materialize whether they liked it or not.

#### The Future of the Planet Is at Stake

The 16th CPCZ Congress emphasized that "relaxation of military tensions between states in the spirit of detente and peace is of utmost importance." This thesis represents the priority tasks for our foreign policy, i.e., to participate as actively as possible in halting the feverish arms race and to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

Time and again at every opportunity we emphasize at disarmament negotiations and elsewhere that the only way to success lies in reason rather than force, in the principle of balance and equal security and not in the superiority of one side over the other. No conflict between states or groups of states and no difference between social systems can overshadow what is most needed by all nations, namely, preservation of peace and prevention of nuclear war. The USSR has shown a realistic road toward this goal in its extensive program of measures to stop the feverish arms race in all types of weapons, nuclear, chemical and conventional.

If the nuclear chain reaction represents the ultimate threat to our planet, then the chain reaction of disarmament under Soviet initiatives unquestionably represents its salvation.

For this reason, we follow with great interest the course of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on the limitation and reduction of nuclear

weapons in Europe. Our interest in these talks is understandable, since almost half of the planned new American medium-range missiles which are to be stationed in Western Europe are to be placed on FRG territory, thus in immediate proximity to our borders. This plan worries us considerably; consequently, we support the reasonable and constructive approach of the USSR to reach an equitable agreement with the United States. We strongly reject the so-called zero option in which the American side is proposing complete liquidation of Soviet medium-range missiles, while America refuses to reduce its own and its allies' deployment of such weapons in Europe by one single unit.

We have greeted the resumption of Soviet-American negotiations on strategic arms with satisfaction. Even here, however, we regret to note that U.S. positions are still oriented toward measures under which only the USSR would disarm unilaterally, while Washington could go ahead with a program of building up its strategic forces.

As a direct participant in the Vienna negotiations on force reduction in Europe, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries actively work toward a treaty which would reduce the existing high state of troops and armaments on this, not unjustly called, European "powder keg." The constructive proposal of the socialist countries of February of this year calling for an equitable and useful agreement, is still without adequate response from the West. On the contrary, without any justification whatever, the West demands a three times higher reduction on our side.

On top of this, there is the negative effect of the recently concluded treaty between the United States and the FRG which, under various pretexts, makes it possible to move to Europe additional contingents of American troops. All this is being done in the face of the socialist countries' demonstration of goodwill, such as the unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from the GDR, or the goodwill gesture of passing to the West the exact numbers of our own troops, an act unprecedented in history.

The effort to reduce tensions was also expressed in the Warsaw Pact call for not expanding its and NATO's sphere of operations into new areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

For the Success of the Madrid Conference

We hope that an important voice toward the resolution of burning problems of disarmament and lowering the threshold of risk of military confrontation will also be heard at the 20-year old "diplomatic marathon" of the Madrid meeting of participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which after a 6-month adjournment is about to resume negotiations.

Along with the other socialist countries, we are sincerely interested in having the conference proceed in the spirit of constructive dialogue and adopt a meaningful and balanced concluding document which would include a mandate to summon a conference on measures toward strengthening confidence and security in Europe.



We especially appreciate the interest of the uncommitted and neutral countries which are expressing serious concern over the complicated international situation, being aware that their place and role in world politics grows with the easing of tensions. We believe that their proposal of last December for a concluding document of the Madrid conference, provides a solid foundation for the achievement of generally acceptable results.

We must say frankly, however, that the continuing attempts of certain NATO countries, especially the current Washington stance, to misuse this platform for interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, only complicate the situation and prevent a successful conclusion of the meeting. All five preceding rounds have been notoriously misused by the United States for antisocialist, anti-Soviet and, during the last 2 years, anti-Polish attacks which evoke a confrontational situation and could make concrete positive results impossible. It is only natural that such results require the necessary political will of all the participants.

#### Remove the Flash Points of Tension

The well-known flash points of tension continue to represent one of the most serious problems of current international relations. The first of these is the dramatic development in the Near East. We are still convinced that the Gordian knot in this area can be cut through the convocation of a special international conference with the participation of all the interested parties, including the Liberation of Palestine Organization, the sole legal representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

Unceasing tension continues to characterize the situation in southeast Asia. The cause again is the expansionist policy of American imperialism and the reactionary forces in the region which use as a pretext the assistance of socialist Vietnam to the people of Cambodia in the overthrow of the barbarian regime of Pol Pot. Even here, we wish to stress that we are in full solidarity with the nations of Indochina in the defense of their liberty, independence and unity. We believe that the problems of the region should be resolved by its own nations through peaceful dialogue. We proclaim again that the lawful seat in the United Nations belongs solely to the legal representative of the Cambodian People's Republic.

We actively support Soviet initiatives to transform the Indian Ocean into an area of peace and to convoke toward this end an international conference in 1983.

No less serious is the situation in South Africa. Together with progressive people the world over, we firmly denounce racist policies. As to Namibia, we demand that the South African Republic grant its independence in the spirit of the pertinent UN resolutions.

With respect to Latin America, we are of the opinion that the sharpened situation which threatens peace in this region has been caused by the threats and maneuvers of American imperialism against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and other states of Central America and the Caribbean region, as well as by the

brutal suppression of the patriotic forces in El Salvador. We support resolution of the conflict over the Malvinas Islands on the basis of UN resolutions.

As founding members of the United Nations, we note with satisfaction that it was from this forum that there originated, with active contribution of especially the socialist countries, many recommendations toward the strengthening of peace and security.

Experiences accumulated during the 37 years of work in the United Nations overwhelmingly show that measures adopted in its name and under its charter have served mankind well. It is for this reason that we oppose those voices which call for a partial or complete revision of the UN Charter which we helped formulate in San Francisco.

We continue to consider timely the consistent fulfillment of the Declaration on International Cooperation in Disarmament which, at our initiative, was adopted by the 34th General Assembly. We constantly work with this document, which calls on states to participate actively, constructively and with initiative in disarmament negotiations and demonstrate a genuine desire to achieve concrete results. The proposed resolution, the sense of which is to develop the idea of our declaration and adapt it to current international events and needs, is to be presented by our delegation in the near future.

It is this type of activity on the floor of the United Nations which has earned Czechoslovakia well-deserved international recognition.

#### Alliance with the USSR, Guarantor of Our Security

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is the development and intensification of our alliance and overall cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We are living up to this principle in all spheres and at all levels. We thus contribute with our endeavor to a further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist community, to the intensification of friendship, cooperation and coordination within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which assume even greater importance in the face of the growing efforts of world imperialism to divide, politically isolate and economically weaken the socialist community.

For future elaboration of a coordinated foreign policy line set forth by the central committees of the fraternal parties, we actively apply the broad opportunities of the Warsaw Pact organization. In this respect, we assign priority importance to sessions of its supreme organ, the Political Consultative Committee whose constructive approaches and initiative proposals are always highly valuable contributions to the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

Another important instrument of the institutionalization of the common policy of the Warsaw Pact countries is the Foreign Ministers' Committee whose recent fifth meeting in Moscow significantly contributed to improving the cooperation of member states in international questions.

In the sphere of economic policy, an irreplaceable role belongs to CEMA. The immediate needs and tasks of further progress in our country demonstrate in full measure the essential need for international economic integration, how necessary it is to supplement plan coordination among the countries of the socialist community with coordination of their entire economic policy. Fulfillment of the tasks of the complex program, as well as the long-range targeted programs of cooperation are considered by us a basis for stability and dynamic development in our homeland. We are convinced that the coming consultation on economic problems of CEMA member states at the highest level will significantly contribute to the realization of these very timely tasks.

In this connection, we reemphasize our determination not to isolate ourselves from broadening equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation with all states willing to reciprocate. Turning inward, engaging in boycott or discrimination against others has never been nor will it ever be our policy.

The highest and lasting principle of our foreign policy, the fundamental criterion which daily permeates our life and ensures peace and constant progress for our socialist society, is our sincere fraternal friendship, firm alliance and all-embracing cooperation with the USSR.

The nucleus and guarantee of these is the firm combat union of the CPCZ and the CPSU which embodies the deeply rooted friendship between the nations of our two countries.

We note with pride that relations between our two fraternal socialist states and their peoples have, in harmony with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1970, developed into unprecedented depth and all-embracing dimensions. There is no sphere of endeavor where we do not find close comradely cooperation and fruitful exchange of experiences.

Our unbreakable friendship and cooperation was again convincingly demonstrated by the visit of our party and government delegation, led by Gustav Husak, in the USSR in June, and the already traditional meeting of the supreme representatives of our two countries in Crimea in July of this year. Both of these important events brought forth many new incentives toward the development of our mutual relations.

Economic cooperation is irreplaceable for us in its extent and importance. It influences positively the situation in and dynamism of our national economy and makes possible its planned development with a long-range perspective. We anticipate that during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, mutual trade exchange will exceed the 50-billion-ruble mark, a level never previously achieved. For the future, we place emphasis on cooperation in those spheres which determine current technological development, i.e., primarily the creation of additional effective and lasting stimuli for the development of cooperative relations and scientific and technological cooperation.

Unquestionable successes have been achieved in the development of contacts in the sphere of culture, science and education. The mutual spiritual enrichment of nations, exchanges of the latest achievements in the sciences and arts, are

understood by us as an important integral component of strengthening friendly relations and enhancing the internationalist consciousness of our people.

#### We Are a Firm Component of the Socialist Community

We purposefully intensify and broaden cooperation between state organs at the level of parliaments, as well as social organizations in mutual relations governed by substantive, concrete and multifaceted forms of cooperation.

We are constantly strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Warsaw Pact member states. In years past they have achieved considerable growth, dynamism and new quality. Important in their strengthening are the constant personal contacts, conversations and consultations of our party and state representatives. In the spirit of socialist internationalism, we are developing with them rich, productive and beneficial cooperation in all spheres. Such practice adds to the enhancement of our capabilities, unity and solidarity within the socialist community.

We especially welcome the fact that in the Polish People's Republic there is a gradual normalization in all spheres of political, economic and social life. We fully support the efforts of the Polish leadership to arrive at a consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system. We clearly assured the Polish comrades of this during the official friendly visit of the Polish party and state delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski in April of this year. We resolutely condemn all efforts to exploit the current development in the country toward disruption of the process of detente and for attacks against the socialist state. Equally firmly, we reject the incredible attempts at political and economic blackmail of our Polish friends and the gross interference in their internal affairs by some of the Western countries, especially the United States. Together with the other socialist countries, we offer and will continue to offer fraternal all-around assistance within the bounds of our capabilities in Poland's effort to overcome current difficulties and strengthen socialism in the country.

Our cooperation with the Bulgarian People's Republic has traditionally been good. The results of talks between the general secretaries of the CPCZ and the BCP, comrades Gustav Husak and Todor Zhivkov during an official and friendly visit in September of this year, confirmed the determination of our two fraternal countries to continue on the tested road of developing mutually beneficial all-embracing relations. We see good prospects in the already successful economic cooperation, especially with respect to its most progressive forms.

Cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic is marked by its traditional breadth and multifaceted nature. The recent working meetings and deliberations of our supreme representatives, comrades Husak and Kadar in Budapest, provided new impulses to further successful development of mutual relations and created even better prerequisites for a useful exchange of experiences. Our economic relations are marked by an encouraging degree of production specialization and cooperation.

The unusually broad relations with the GDR reach into virtually all spheres of the life of our society. The recent working visit of Gustav Husak and his talks with the GDR supreme representative, Erich Honecker, demonstrated mutual trust, understanding, complete unanimity of views and goals. The development of close fraternal contacts among regions, towns, enterprises, tourist exchanges, contacts among individuals, all assist in improving our knowledge of each other and enhance the rapprochement of our fraternal nations. With this, our second largest trading partner, we are developing increasingly more intensive progressive forms of cooperation.

Our cooperation with the Romanian Socialist Republic can be evaluated in positive terms. The conclusions of last year's official friendly visit of the party and state delegation headed by Nicolae Ceaucescu, the general secretary of the RCP and president, represented an important impulse for its all-around development. Our mutual relations are characterized by the effort of both countries to seek effective new forms, especially in economic cooperation.

Together with the Mongolian People's Republic we celebrated last year the 60th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution in this friendly country. Our relations with this reliable and important member of the socialist community are being successfully developed and intensified from year to year.

On a lasting basis, we are expanding and intensifying all-around fraternal cooperation with the Socialist Cuban Republic, so close to us in common goals, internationalism and a firm anti-imperialist position. We express unflinching solidarity with the heroic island of freedom which is constantly the target of threats, sharp attacks and political and economic pressures exerted by U.S. imperialism.

#### Fruitful Cooperative Relations

Our relations with the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY] have a rising trend in many spheres. They are developing positively in the spirit of traditional friendly contacts between the two countries. We advocate their further expansion and strengthening for the benefit of both countries. Economic cooperation is continuing successfully, as attested to by the fact that the SFRY is our fourth largest trade partner and the CSSR also the fourth in the overall volume of Yugoslav foreign trade.

An important place in our foreign policy is held by the fraternal states of Indochina with which we are firmly bound by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and common goals. The signing of friendship and cooperation treaties with socialist Vietnam and Laos in February 1980 represents a foundation for the raising of our relations with these countries to an even higher level.

With the Vietnamese Socialist Republic we maintain broad dynamic cooperation and, within the bounds of our capabilities, assist in their socialist construction. An important place in this assistance program is reserved for the training of Vietnamese cadres.

In addition to students and many apprentices whom we have accepted for education, thousands of young Vietnamese citizens are active here gaining qualification and specialized experience.

We follow with great sympathy the process of revolutionary changes in the Laotian People's Democratic Republic. We devote constant attention to the intensification of political contacts, and expand our participation in the renewal and progress of the Laotian national economy.

Our relations with the Cambodian People's Republic are intensifying constantly, ever since its birth in 1979. We offer active support to the efforts of its people to march on the road of socialist development they had embarked on, and firmly reject the continuing interference of outside forces in the internal affairs of this country. An important role in overcoming the consequences of the Pol Pot tyranny is played by our aid, especially in the form of experts and health care personnel.

We are developing friendly relations and cooperation in various spheres with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and support the struggle of its people for peaceful reunification and the just demand for the withdrawal of American forces from the south.

We continue to be ready to normalize state relations with the Chinese People's Republic in accordance with the basic principles of our foreign policy. We take note of certain new indications in the position of this great socialist country, which could create conditions for concrete steps in this direction. Of fundamental importance, however, for a healthier situation in the world, would be a positive approach of the Chinese side to the constructive initiatives of the USSR with respect to a normalization of relations between these two countries.

As regards the Albanian People's Socialist Republic, we are now as in the past interested in restoring normal relations, provided the Albanian side creates favorable conditions for it politically.

#### Together Against Imperialism

An important position in our foreign policy is held by contacts with a broad circle of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have freed themselves from colonial oppression and among which the number having chosen the course of socialist development is growing.

We expand and intensify mutually beneficial relations with them in the most varied spheres on the basis of equity, respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. In the spirit of our internationalist approach, we support their struggle against neocolonialist practices, stand fully behind their demands for the strengthening of political and economic independence, elimination of exploitation and obstacles placed in their path by imperialist states and supranational companies. We advocate the principle of basic restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic, equitable and mutually beneficial basis. Through this policy of ours, we are contributing to the strengthening of a united anti-imperialist front.

Most of these countries belong to the nonaligned movement whose importance in the present world situation, exacerbated by imperialism, continues to grow. We welcome their positive stance on such global problems as war and peace, halting feverish armament, support for the process of détente, and other serious problems.

We hope that the planned Seventh Nonaligned Conference in New Delhi will confirm the progressive principles which marked the birth of the movement, and will forcefully express its support for the just resolution of the most timely problems of the present period. In this manner, they will strengthen the role and prestige of the movement in global politics.

It is quite natural that we devote priority attention to those developing countries to which we feel the closest due to their active and consistent struggle for revolutionary socialist ideals.

Of ever-growing importance is our all-around cooperation with the Afghan Socialist Republic. We are developing it successfully on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. We will continue to grant Afghanistan all-around internationalist support in its struggle to safeguard its revolutionary achievements against attacks of internal and external enemies who are trying to reverse the course of progressive change by violent means. We, therefore, support Afghan proposals for a normalization of relations with Pakistan and Iran which would create realistic conditions for a reduction of tension in this sensitive part of the world.

Our relations are developing successfully in all spheres and at all levels with the Yemen People's Democratic Republic which, through the practical application of the teaching of scientific socialism, is playing an important part in the Arab world.

A significant improvement in relations with the Angolan People's Republic in the political, economic and cultural spheres was greatly enhanced by last year's consultations of the supreme party and state representatives of our two countries. An important cornerstone in their development is the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded on this occasion.

The highlight of our all-around expansion of relations with socialist Ethiopia, this important bearer of progressive revolutionary ideals in the Horn of Africa, was last year's visit there of Comrade Gustav Husak. Its results have become a long-term and important stimulus of further development of mutual relations. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed during the visit helps create conditions for a lasting and systematic intensification of mutual cooperation in all spheres and their movement to a higher level.

#### New Impulses

New impulses for further intensification of cooperation with the Mozambique People's Republic reflect the results of a meeting between the supreme representatives of the two countries. We assign fundamental importances to the development of relations in all spheres as envisaged in the jointly adopted Declaration on Friendly and Cooperative Relations.

The firm anti-imperialist policy of the Madagascar Democratic Republic enjoys our full support and there are prerequisites for the development of mutually beneficial relations.

We also devote constant attention to expanding cooperation with other countries which have entered on the road of socialist development, such as Benin, the Congo People's Republic and other anti-imperialist-oriented states.

With respect to our relations with the Arab states, we base them on the principles of activist solidarity with the patriotic forces, support of their just cause, and all steps aimed at strengthening their action unity in the struggle against imperialism, aggression and Zionism.

We have traditionally been joined with them in friendship and fruitful cooperation based on the principles of mutual respect, equity and mutual benefit. We rightly count them among our important long-range trading partners.

I would especially like to emphasize the all-around development of relations with the Syrian Arab Republic which stands in the front line against the aggressiveness of imperialism and Israeli expansionism. Our cooperation can serve as an example of equity and mutual benefit, while it steadily maintains an upward trend. We feel the same way about further expansion of the intensity of our relations, as demonstrated by the recent visit here of Syrian Prime Minister Abd al-Rauf al-Kasim.

We can voice similar satisfaction with the dynamic development of our relations with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Its culmination was the signing of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty during the recent visit of Colonel Quadhafi. We follow with interest and sympathy the tireless efforts of the revolutionary leadership of this young anti-imperialist-oriented country to carry through just social change.

With respect to another friendly Arab country, the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, we have for many years registered a growing trend of expanding all-around mutually beneficial cooperation. We have done well with the practice of constructive political dialogue, and the benefits of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. This fact also faithfully mirrors the results of the recent visit of our federal prime minister to Algeria.

We have for a long time been successfully improving bilateral relations with the Iraqi Republic. We assess positively the fact that they are becoming broader and richer in content. This is also attested to by many high-level visits in all spheres. We are lastingly interested in a further intensification of these relations.

We can express satisfaction with the potential of further development of cooperation with Tunisia which was confirmed by the recent visit there by our federal prime minister.



In the spirit of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people against the barbaric aggression by Israel, we are developing contacts with the Palestinian resistance movement. We actively support the just demands of the Palestinians for recognition of their legal rights, including the right to establish their own independent state.

Our relations with Kuwait have continued to grow in many spheres.

In a global context, development in certain Asian countries is becoming of greater significance. In our foreign policy, therefore, we try to intensify relations with the countries of this largest and most populous continent, grant them lasting support in their effort to strengthen their national independence and help relax international tensions.

Besides the countries we have already mentioned, our most important partner in Asia is the Republic of India. We highly appreciate its constant peace-loving and realistic positions in the international arena. We also value India because of the important role it has long played in the nonaligned movement. Our traditionally good relations are marked by dynamic development in all spheres. We are intensifying political contacts, broadening economic cooperation and we are enriching the considerable cultural heritage of both sides. We hope that this situation will prevail.

We note with satisfaction that we recently established political contacts with the Islamic Republic of Iran, and that apparently there are prospects of economic cooperation beneficial to both countries.

We have been developing mutually useful contacts, especially in the economic sphere, with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), notably with the Indonesian Republic, Thailand and the Philippines.

There has also been an activization in recent years in our cooperation with Burma, where there are prerequisites for further development in the political sphere.

Our relations with Sri Lanka are stable and we would like to develop them further.

This is also true of our contacts with Bangladesh.

The focal point of mutual contacts with Pakistan lies in the economic sphere. We are interested in their continuation, as well as in the development of relations in other spheres.

#### We Condemn Racism

Our foreign interest in the recent period has continued to be focused on the continent of Africa, which illustrates better than most other regions the world process of revolutionary change. It is, therefore, not by accident that this area has become the subject of dangerous intrigues of the imperialist and neocolonialist forces which engage in inciting a great variety of problems and

conflicts, up to and including an attempt to destroy the Organization of African Unity. We firmly support the just struggle of the African people against imperialism, neocolonialism and all forms of racism and apartheid.

Consequently, the assessment of our relations with the African countries would be incomplete if, in addition to African contacts already mentioned, we failed to evaluate the positive development on contacts with other states of this continent, especially those with which we are linked through common interest in safeguarding peace and development of mutually beneficial cooperation based on our common struggle against imperialism.

We have achieved successful relations especially with the Nigerian Federated Republic both in trade, where it is our largest partner in Africa, and in the political sphere. We have developed and strengthened mutual relations and cooperation with the Republic of Zambia, and we anticipate further intensification of traditionally good relations with the United Tanzanian Republic, especially in the political sphere. We consider important the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Zimbabwe and opening our embassy in Harara. We have thus created the basic conditions for developing relations with this progressive country.

We also try to use all opportunities for broadening contacts and establishing mutually beneficial cooperation with other African countries.

#### Support for the National Liberation Struggle

An important place in our foreign policy belongs to Latin America. In the case of some of the countries on this continent, cooperation has a history of more than 60 years. In the present period, the area is marked with a growing national liberation struggle, especially in Central America and the Caribbean region, as well as a continuing democratization process in the southern portion of Latin America. These tendencies running counter to the hegemonist policy of the United States, have deepened the crisis of the intra-American system and have caused certain of the countries of the continent to reevaluate their political posture.

We assign special importance to our relations with Nicaragua and Grenada. We are pleased with the successful development of relations with these states in all spheres. We intend to further broaden these contacts and improve their quality.

As an example of good relations, we can cite our high-profile contacts with Mexico. We value the independent foreign policy of this country which enjoys considerable international authority which, in turn, contributes in great measure to the preservation of peace and security, notably in Central America and the Caribbean region. We have traditionally had very good relations, especially in the cultural sphere, and we are also registering an upward trend in the political and economic areas.

Good relations are developing with Argentina, especially in the economic sphere, where they show an upward trend. In the most recent period, we have

registered a certain positive trend even in the political area. We have expressed our solidarity with the Argentine people and condemned the revival of violent colonial practices of the past, which became so obvious in the recent conflict over the Malvinas Islands.

As regards Brazil, we consider of great importance the success in economic cooperation which open the door to broader development of mutual relations, including even the political sphere. We believe that with Venezuela, where we maintain good, mutually beneficial economic contacts, we can expand into the political and cultural fields. We have traditionally maintained good economic and cultural relations with Colombia and we see opportunities there for expanding political contacts. The current favorable level of mutual relations with Peru creates good prerequisites for developing relations in several other areas. We are gratified to see that the Bolivian Government has taken the road of democracy. We see in this an opportunity for all-around development of relations. In relations with Ecuador, we see the possibility--besides economic cooperation--of broadening cultural exchanges. Relations with Costa Rica continue largely in the cultural and trade spheres.

In our policy toward the capitalist states, we base ourselves on the tried principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. We strive for the development of equitable, mutually beneficial cooperation, while rejecting all forms of pressure, discrimination and interference in our internal affairs. We consistently respect all provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, which we regard as an indivisible whole. Thanks to the application of this policy, we have achieved positive results with a number of Western countries.

#### Good Neighborly Relations

This refers, first of all, to Austria. Relations with this southern neighbor can be viewed basically as normalized, developed and having a future potential. They are the result of bilateral interest in long-term development of mutually beneficial cooperation. We have intensified political contacts and broadened cooperation in the economic, cultural and other spheres. We consider it important that trade exchange with this, our second largest trading partner among the capitalist countries, continue to show an upward trend. In the last 3 years alone, our turnover doubled and last year reached almost \$1 billion. There are still unexploited opportunities, both in terms of volume and, even more so, structure of our mutual trade. However, we do not consider mutual exchanges narrowly merely from the point of view of volume achieved. The similarity of our positions on certain key international issues, such as maintenance and intensification of the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems, undoubtedly contributes to the preservation of peace and strengthening security in Europe, as palpable evidence of detente and its desirability. We wish to build on this foundation in the future. We expect that the coming official visit of CSSR President Gustav Husak to the Republic of Austria--the first such visit by our head of state since the birth of Czechoslovakia in 1918--will become an important milestone in our relations and bring forth valuable new impulses for their development in the future.

We consider relations with our neighbors to the west--the FRG--an integral part of the all-European process of easing international tensions. We are developing these relations in the spirit of good neighborliness and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of the Treaty on Mutual Relations of the CSSR and the FRG, whose 10th anniversary we will be marking next year. The mechanisms created during this period of regular political consultation have significantly contributed to the development of contacts in all spheres. We have carefully noted the declared intention of the new German federal government to continue in the dialogue and cooperation with the socialist states on the basis of valid treaties. It will, of course, be concrete deeds which will be decisive. As regards foreign trade, the FRG, as our most important partner, shares 25 percent of our overall turnover with the developed capitalist states. It would be beneficial for both sides to profitably utilize opportunities offered, especially through industrial cooperation and cooperation on third markets.

#### Live by the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

CSSR interest in all-around development of contacts with France continues. It appears that recently the response has been more positive. The problem is to resume political dialogue at appropriate levels about new perspective forms of economic cooperation, increasing the currently low commercial exchange which is far from reflecting the capabilities of both countries. It is for this reason that we welcomed certain positive indications which emerged at the recent negotiations at cabinet level. As for us, we are prepared to improve political and economic relations with France so that they might be restored to the traditional level of mutual respect between our nations. I see no reason why the fruitful cooperation which marks our cultural exchanges could not exist in other spheres.

An example of excellent, constantly improving relations, are the traditional good contacts between the CSSR and Finland, living proof of cooperation between countries with different social systems. We are convinced that the recent visit of our federal prime minister will contribute to their intensification, especially via the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Development and Expansion of Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, a document signed on that occasion.

The decisive characteristics of relations with Greece is the interest on both sides in further development of contacts, including a dialogue at the highest level. The existing contractual base makes it possible to further raise the scope and effectiveness of economic and cultural cooperation.

Thanks to the atmosphere of friendship and understanding which characterizes our relations with the Republic of Cyprus, we have advanced in successful development of mutually beneficial cooperation. We have always stood firmly on the side of the Cypriot people in their struggle for independence and freedom against foreign intervention. We stand at their side even now when we advocate a just political solution which would ensure the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state.

We have correct relations with Belgium and Holland. We wish to continue a useful dialogue, especially in the political sphere. Relations with Luxembourg have a positive trend and we are developing mutually beneficial cooperation in many different areas.

Our relations with Turkey are characterized primarily by bilateral, mutually beneficial economic cooperation in which we have achieved positive results.

In relations with Britain, we have recently noted certain elements of progress in mutual contacts. This trend was preceded by the settlement of property issues and the signing and implementation of an appropriate agreement. We have also noted an intensification of dialogue even at government level. Given the fact Britain is our third largest trade partner among the capitalist states, we have a lasting interest in expanding this cooperation.

Our relations with Denmark, Norway and Iceland are relatively good; however, we are convinced that there is still considerable room for improvement. The same can be said for relations with Switzerland.

We note with satisfaction the overall development of relations with Spain. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, i.e., during the past 5 years, we have expanded our contact base into all spheres and we are interested in strengthening it.

Our current relations with Italy do not correspond to the opportunities and objective needs of the development of mutual relations, even though there have been some recent contacts. Our relations with Sweden would, in our opinion, also merit improvement. We are ready to do so.

Through no fault of ours, there has been a considerable cooling off in relations with Portugal. We are always ready to contribute to their normalization.

With respect to the signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on the American continent, we do not have any outstanding problems with Canada. Political dialogue with this country, however, does not reflect all the opportunities which have been created, especially by progress in the sphere of economic cooperation.

On an occasion such as this in 1979, I informed you that the United States remained the only developed capitalist country with which our relations were burdened with unresolved problems.

#### Unresolved Problems with the United States

As you know, based on the agreement between the CSSR and the U.S. governments of 29 January 1982, a property settlement between the two countries finally materialized. This meant the return to us of 18.4 tons of exchange gold which had been stolen from us by the Hitlerites and later held illegally in the United States and Britain. The agreement also settled some of the American claims emanating from nationalization of property here. I have already

explained in detail the history and the complexity of the resolution of this problem in my appearance before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Assembly in March of this year.

The closing of this matter removed a serious obstacle which for 37 years had negatively affected our relations with the United States. Our constructive approach to this complicated problem and a number of concrete steps on our part documented the lasting interest of the CSSR in improving and normalizing CSSR-U.S. relations on the basis of equity and respect for the principle of mutual benefit. We intend to continue acting in this spirit. This requires, however, that the U.S. Government reassess its position to date toward the CSSR and eliminate the existing discriminatory measures employed against us in practically all spheres.

In relations with the developed capitalist states, we note with satisfaction the lasting trend of growing mutually beneficial cooperation with Japan. Contacts with that country in all spheres have reached a high plateau. We consider it useful to make use even better than heretofore of all the opportunities for further development of relations, especially in the commercial, scientific and technological spheres.

#### International Authority of the CSSR Growing

We consider our activities in a broad area of external economic contacts an integral component of our foreign policy. We are doing all we can to see that diplomacy, foreign trade and broad economic, scientific and technological cooperation become a unified flexible and effective instrument of our external international activity, as prescribed to us by the general policy line of the CPCZ.

As regards foreign relations in the sphere of culture, education, science and health care, these are providing increasingly more evidence of the successes and highly developed cultural life in our homeland.

These contacts make possible not only an exchange of cultural values and scientific discoveries, but to a certain degree assist politically in those areas where, due to the complicated international situation, other avenues are limited. We are backed by a solid base of 77 cultural and 28 health-care treaties and dozens of agreements directly between schools, institutes and health-care facilities.

The highest level in this sphere has been achieved with the USSR and the other socialist countries. We are purposefully broadening cooperation with the developing countries and have an important role in training their qualified cadres at secondary and higher institutions of learning in the CSSR.

International treaties represent an important instrument in the realization of CSSR foreign-policy goals. We currently have a total of 2,549 valid international treaties and agreements.

In terms of political impact, special significance is embodied in the friendship and cooperation treaties. The CSSR has these with all the states of the socialist community and in recent years has also concluded such treaties with six developing countries which have chosen the road of socialist development.

The international contacts pursued by our social organizations are another part of the multifaceted mosaic of CSSR external relations. Foreign contacts of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement are characterized by a broad spectrum of activities. It has relations with almost 150 trade union organizations in 120 countries of all continents and participates with them in countless events emphasizing the rights of the working people, social progress and peace.

In a number of the countries of the Arab world, in Africa, Latin America, Australia and, by now, in most European countries, there are 36 friendship societies with socialist Czechoslovakia.

The presence of more than 1,500 experts, primarily in the developing countries, unquestionably enhances the good name of our republic abroad.

The CSSR maintains diplomatic relations with 131 countries. We have 112 diplomatic installations abroad, of which 87 are embassies, 7 permanent missions, 14 general consulates and 4 consulates. These installations are staffed by closely knit collectives of professionally and politically qualified employees of the diplomatic service who are totally dedicated to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Such are the results of our foreign policy and the conditions under which it operated during the past 3 years. We can say, the worsening international situation notwithstanding, that peaceful conditions have been preserved for the building of our socialist society. The alliance with the socialist community has been strengthened and the international authority of Czechoslovakia has grown. We have achieved these results thanks to the purposeful leadership of our communist party and the support according to foreign policy by all of our society.

Allow me therefore to express from this platform my appreciation to the Central Committee of the CPCZ, its Presidium and to you personally, esteemed Comrade General Secretary, for the consistent, daily care. I also wish to thank you, comrades, as deputies of our supreme representative and legislative body, for your consistent activism and support.

9496

CSO: 2400/61

OBZINA ON CRIME INCIDENCE AMONG YOUTH

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 19, approved for publication on 13 Sep 82  
pp34-37

[Article by Jaromir Obzina, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR Ministry of Interior: "Further Reducing Criminal Conduct in the Young Generation"]

[Text] Security Situation in the CSSR and Strategic Aims of Imperialist Reaction

Since the beginning of the Carter and Reagan administrations the United States of America has been forming a distinctly new foreign and military-political doctrine. In May 1981 at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend (state of Indiana), the American President, Ronald Reagan, declared: "The West will not hold back communism. The West will surpass it. We are not going to bother condemning communism, we are going to cross it off as a tragic, bizarre chapter in the history of humanity, the last pages of which are now being written." In order to confirm that he was not misquoted, on 8 June 1982 he said in London: "What I propose now is a long-term plan and hope. It is the march of liberty which will consign Marxism-Leninism to the dustbin of history." To attain this objective Reagan's administration is even expanding the authority of American special services, especially the CIA. Government circles of the United States consider the espionage activities of their intelligence apparatus as an integral part of American foreign policy and an effective instrument for attaining their objectives.

As communists, citizens of a socialist state which is a firm part of the world socialist community, we cannot ignore the program declarations of the leading representative of world imperialism. They are directly related to the fact that at the same time special services of the main capitalist states have intensified their subversive activities against countries of the socialist community and especially against the CSSR. Evidence of this is the direction of subversive activities of imperialist intelligence against the socialist countries as prescribed at the NATO meeting in Brussels in September 1981. Its objective is to create conditions which would bring about societywide crises in the individual socialist countries.

The interest of imperialist intelligence in the CSSR is concentrated on the economy, especially key sectors of the national economy and on new military technology. Hostile activity of the special services is clearly perceived in



the support of internal antisocialist elements. They are getting materials from them especially useful for organizing ideologically diversionary activity, they arrange rapid and secure communications for them with emigre centers and offer them all kinds of material and financial aid. Reactionary elements in churches and religious sects, in spite of their manifest activity, have not succeeded in abusing the people's religious feelings and their freedom of religious profession to directly threaten socialism, even though it is precisely with this objective that they are waging their "holy war" against socialism.

Foreign imperialist reactionary and antisocialist forces in the CSSR are striving to form new groupings to carry out active antistate activity, particularly among young people, the working class and the educated class. They are interested in groupings that are connected with the everyday life of our people and could perhaps be politically misused on a mass scale in overcoming problems, difficulties and shortages which occur in the process of building developed socialism in the CSSR. In their antisocialist activity they are using the tactic of gradually disturbing the socialist consciousness of the young generation, casting doubt on the values of socialism, social security and the pillars of security in our country, especially our alliance with the Soviet Union.

In addition to military preparations and a feverish arms buildup, the United States of America and other capitalist powers are conducting overt and covert economic warfare against the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other the socialist countries. We should not take this as only a sum total of blockades, embargoes, discriminatory measures of particular regimes in banking and exchange operations, in the rules of foreign trade, controlled by corruption and bribery and attempts to penetrate into individual branches of the national economy or condemn them to technological obsolescence, but rather as a unified doctrine whose objective is to preserve the superiority of the most developed capitalist countries over the world socialist system in the scientific-technical and technological, financial, banking and product areas. In this way, they want to achieve either the economic inferiority of the socialist countries or their disruption and ward off the historically approaching period when the socialist world in the area of labor productivity and economic development will attain the level of the seven most highly developed capitalist countries of the world. This is the political substance of the overt and covert economic war expressing the desperate and deep-seated hatred of imperialism toward socialism.

The economic war being waged against the socialist countries cannot prevent the progressive development of socialism even by natural changes in the power relationship of both systems. It can, however--if we do not manage to resist it politically, economically and securitywise--threaten the stability of the socialist order in those socialist lands which, in the course of developing socialism, seek assistance in the embrace of the capitalist economy and their specific, so-called forms of "help" or "cooperation." From our own and international experiences we know that socialism cannot be built with the help of imperialism!

The security situation in the CSSR is favorable in spite of the sharpened international political, military and economic situation. Nowhere has there been any serious antisocial behavior which would threaten the socialist social order, public order or give signs of negative manifestations in the fight against crime.

## The Struggle to Reduce Criminal Activity in the Young Generation--Important Goal of Socialist Society

Every society is assured of its future only insofar as its concerns are adopted by the succeeding generation. It is necessary that young people in particular place them above their own everyday, personal concerns because they perceive the purpose of life in social concerns--the natural continuation of history. This was also emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "We must always see to it that youth is aware of its responsibility to the future, that it express its love for its native land by work beneficial to socialism, that it link the deep feelings of socialist ownership with proletarian internationalism and that it be prepared to build and defend its socialist homeland."

From the viewpoint of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state and its strategic goals--to attain further reduction of crime, its social dangers and reduction of ensuing losses--the SNB [National Security Corps] raises the question of the new, upcoming generation's share in criminal activity in general and criminal activity in the area of state security in particular. This concerns an important factor determining the security situation in our country and its future. When we refer to our new, upcoming generation we realize that this is a large part of our population: children up to 6 years, about 2.3 million pupils of our schools, some 700,000 teenagers 15 to 18 years of age and about 2.9 million young adults 18 to 30 years old. Thus the extent of their share in criminal conduct is not a matter of indifference. Data from 1980 which we are using as a basis for comparison shows that the young generation is responsible for 57.9 percent of the total number of criminal offenders, apportioned as follows:

--delinquent children 6 to 15 years old, 6.3 percent

--teenage offenders 15 to 18 years old, 8.1 percent

--young offenders 18 to 30 years old, 43.5 percent

From a societywide and political standpoint there is no need to regard severely the incidence of crime among our young people or as any kind of alarming situation, either when compared with our own past or compared with other countries. On the contrary, compared with 1970 the degree of delinquency among children fell from 8.6 percent to 6.3 percent in 1980, that of criminal conduct among teenagers from 10.8 percent to 8.1 percent and among young adults from 45.7 percent to 43.5 percent. Nevertheless, these facts can in no way be regarded as satisfactory since thus far in the course of building socialism we have not succeeded in preventing the formation of individuals within the young generation, brought up under conditions of a socialist society, from becoming perpetrators of criminal and other antisocial acts, even though we have eliminated the fundamental causes of criminality--private ownership of production facilities and the exploiting class, unemployment and social insecurity, poverty and destitution. Because of the dangers to society and the large numbers of criminal offenders in the young generation we must consider this fact as the most important problem of our security operations (besides recidivism in crime). The main concern is criminal activity of a public security nature, since from a state security point of view the number of offenders in the young generation

is minimal and they are made up of two distinct groups: illegal emigration and verbal offenses, these mainly among university students.

From the characteristics of criminal offenses according to the age composition of the perpetrators we can deduce the following:

1. close to 60 percent of criminal acts and misdemeanors in the CSSR are committed by persons up to 30 years of age;
2. after the age of 30, criminal activity among citizens drops sharply and the chief problem becomes not the number of offenders but crimes committed by recidivists, which for decades has represented more than 40 percent of all criminal acts;
3. the incidence of crime in the state security area among offenders up to 30 years of age is minimal and chiefly of a verbal nature, in effect it occurs among those over 30 years of age.

These and other facts indicate that we should concentrate on the incidence of crime among young people, chiefly because we regard it from the standpoint of the requirement and need for objective legality in socialist development and the societywide mission of the young generation.

Consistent with the strategy of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state, the problem of child delinquency and the incidence of crime among teenagers and young adults are key problems above all because--as put by Marx--"the wise lawmaker prevents crime, so it need not be punished." Under conditions of socialism we must strive for such a thrust in our policies, especially the security policies and particularly among the young generation. This can be achieved in effect only by properly responding to socially negative aspects of the material discrepancies which exist in our society and at the same time making the fullest use of the values of socialism to effectively educate the socialist person, especially children, teenagers and the young generation in general.

Facts show that criminal activity among the young generation at a given stage of socialist development makes up a significant portion of criminal activity in general. This means that a more effective influence of the CPCZ, the socialist state and social bodies and organizations on this segment of the population would set the stage for a significant reduction of criminal activity in general.

It is a most important fact that a successful battle to reduce the incidence and social dangers of crime among young people under socialism is the main instrument not only for limiting present criminal activity, but also gradually eliminating it as a collective negative social phenomenon under communism. That is why even today there is validity in the words of Dzerzhinsky, that we can limit and eliminate criminality much more rapidly if we prevent adult convicts from raising their new generation.

The reasons for the commission of crime among the young generation are the same as for crime in general, although certain conditions and factors in the incidence of crime among young people have specific characteristics which we can classify into four categories:

The first category consists of factors and conditions of an institutional character strongly influencing delinquency in children and criminal conduct in teenagers. These are chiefly the family, schools, training centers, work centers, residences or mass housing (dormitories and boarding schools).

The second category consists of factors and conditions associated with subjective manifestations in the child, the teenager and the young adult. These are: the character of work and employment, free time and how it is spent or used, type of activity in informal groupings of children, teenagers and young adults, and the influence of the adult generation on the social activities of children, teenagers and young adults.

The third category consists of factors and conditions arising from the nature of the socialist social and state system, the substance and application of the socialist legal order (to what extent it recognizes substantive special characteristics and maturity of the young generation in adult citizens) and, associated with this, the tenor of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state as well as the means of implementing them, especially by the SNB and the forces of the Ministry of Interior.

The fourth category consists of factors associated with other external positive and negative influences of a permanent or temporary nature.

Data show that in spite of the significant role of the young generation in the overall number of crimes committed, the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces have not so far devoted themselves sufficiently to the problem of offenders among young people. This can be proven by these facts, among others:

a) General knowledge and concepts about the special character of this criminal activity according to age distribution are for the most part fragmentary and inadequately systematized. The most important thing is that there are no conclusions on which the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces can take practical actions in this area. This makes it difficult or at times even impossible to orient oneself properly in the social-psychological mechanism which leads individual children to delinquency and teenagers and young adults to criminal actions. If we are to achieve any significant improvements we must learn to master and implement the Marxist-Leninist analyses of social relations among people and study actual personalities.

b) The number of specialists in the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces who are selected for work with the young generation, is, in view of the gravity of the problem, very small and they have no special preparation.

c) Empirical and statistical findings show that a significant proportion of criminal activity, especially among offenders between 15 and 25 years of age, is carried out in gangs. Crimes perpetrated by gangs have not only socially

serious consequences but also have a very negative impact on the process of developing the personality. As a rule, these are gangs of approximately the same age with erroneous and confused concepts of life and society and the means of gratifying their interests and needs. The fault lies in the fact that, instead of carrying out immediate educational, preventive, prophylactic and specific practical measures, we merely report statistics of "delinquent youth" gangs.

d) Generalization of practical findings and knowledge of theory confirm the fact that a significant portion of criminal offenders in the young generation is influenced by bourgeois ideology and the effects of certain features and aspects of the bourgeois way of life, false and hostile manifestations of its material and intellectual culture. We are emphasizing this dual aspect of the impulses and motivations of criminal conduct among individuals of the young generation because up to now generally only the ideological aspects of reactionary influences have been accented and the influence of other aspects of capitalist society is underestimated. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that "the bourgeois influence on workers has never been limited to the ideological influence" because the experienced bourgeoisie is well aware that if its ideological influence on workers is shaken and if it weakens it must use all kinds of other means against the laboring class, including corruption, bribery, demoralization, lies and slander. We should also realize this and react accordingly! After all, this kind of action is currently being carried out against the CSSR not only by 12 radio and 6 television stations but in a much more dangerous form by a certain part of visaed foreigners, emissaries of reactionary emigration, trade partners from eastern departments of foreign monopolies, reactionary representatives of the church and religious sects and antisocial groups in the CSSR.

All of this urges us on to greater concern about the young generation than before, and also because we are convinced that all our problems, faults and shortcomings are not enough in themselves for foreign imperialist reaction and the special services of our adversaries to significantly and collectively influence the life of workers in the CSSR toward an antisocialist spirit. So they are striving to form new groupings which would have real political influence among the broad masses of our workers and would have sufficient prospects not only to threaten socialism but in the long run try to eliminate it. And it is precisely from here that their strategic orientation issues today:

--toward the young generation in general;

--toward the working class, especially young apprentices;

--toward university students.

For their disruptive activities, so-called parallel structures are to be set up through organized forms, supplanting the operations of state and social organizations; so-called centers of social discontent; politically reactionary and antisocial manifestations of unrestrained, justified or unjustified dissatisfaction of citizens with the handling of problems, shortcomings and faults of our life; reactionary elements in the Roman Catholic Church and other churches, church and religious sects which have at their disposal legally or illegally

built up systems of organization which at the critical moment will enable them, through political reaction, to misuse the religious sentiments of the people toward antistate and antisocialist actions.

For these objectives, the special services of imperialist countries are striving to take advantage of even criminal activity of certain members of the young generation. Thus they want to be parasites on this negative antisocial manifestation particularly in these ways:

1. on a reactionary, antisocialist basis manage to politicize all criminal and asocial elements;
2. take advantage of their temporary economic superiority, especially in the exchange area and the technical standards of certain branches of consumer goods in order to promote corruption, bribery and speculation controlled and instigated by them in order to propagate antisocialist views for the purpose of ideologically disarming our young people and to this end they even misuse selected genres of certain branches of degenerate cultural forms, pseudocultures and decadent so-called fashionable everyday amusements;
3. at an opportune time they proceed to set up information networks among some of the working and university youth in order to organize their agencies.

From the above, it is obvious the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces will, for valid reasons, devote greater attention to the problem complex of the young generation, not only from the political and societywide standpoint but above all for security reasons. The basic orientation of our struggle against criminal and other antisocial activity of the young generation rests on these principles:

1. to proceed against antisocial and criminal activity of the young generation as part of the important, comprehensive and societywide objective in the struggle of socialist society for the young generation. The main directions of an effective struggle against delinquent children and criminal activity of teenagers and young adults call for both full recognition of the CPCZ program--a program of all-round development of the personality--and the strategic and tactical objectives and goals of the security policies of the CPCZ and the socialist state;
2. a more effective struggle against antisocial and criminal behavior of the young generation depends directly on resolving current inconsistencies within socialism itself in this stage of building a developed socialist society in the CSSR. This calls for ability and the skill to explain their substance scientifically, pointing out realistic programs or essential approaches and measures for resolving them. The ideological and political aspect of this objective consists in seeing that inconsistencies of socialism do not form barriers which could lead the young generation to a sense of "loss of life's prospects";
3. the strategic objective of our struggle against crime in the young generation at the present time is to achieve--as in the past decade--its continued reduction with emphasis on limiting delinquency in children and reducing the number of socially dangerous criminal acts and gang crimes;

4. to achieve this strategic objective, we must expand the number of specialized workers in the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces for the struggle against criminal and other antisocial conduct of the young generation, see that they are specially prepared and make needed organizational changes in SNB units and Ministry of Interior forces;

5. emphasize the direct responsibility of commanders and political training organizations for the closest possible cooperation of the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces with all organizations of our political system in the joint struggle against crime among young people, especially in the formation and effective operation of the system of social preventive measures;

6. evaluate past experiences and fully develop tested forms of participation of the young generation in the formation and execution of security policies of the CPCZ and socialist state. This means increasing the proportion of members of the young generation in the Auxiliary Public Security Corps; activate operation of the battalion of Young Defenders of Public Order, establish new battalions and substantially increase the number of children and youth in their activities; activate operation of the battalion of Young Border Guards; on the model of the South Moravian Kraj and others, establish Clubs of Young Friends of the SNB and see that their activities are meaningful; implement agreements concluded with apprentice facilities and schools; prepare conceptual participation of university students in the formation and execution of security policies of the CPCZ and socialist state.

Fully support creative initiatives which in any suitable form expand and increase participation of the young generation in the struggle against criminal and other antisocial activity for the purpose of stimulating active resistance by politically, morally and intellectually mature members of the young generation against violation of the socialist legal order, socialist values and the socialist way of life;

7. at all levels of management of the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces elaborate a system of their influence on children, teenagers and young adults, particularly on young apprentices and university students.

A more effective struggle of the SNB and Ministry of Interior forces against criminal and other antisocial conduct of the young generation and increased concern for their protection will contribute to strengthening the security of our society, will prevent realization of the plans of the special services of the chief imperialist states and thereby contribute to consolidating the socialist social order in the CSSR.

8491

CSO: 2400/23

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

POLISH DELEGATION LEAVES--Prague [no date as received]--A delegation of the Polish Front of National Unity and the Patriotic Movement of National Redemption, which was in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, left here Friday for home. The delegation met during its study stay here with representatives of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, the Union of Cooperative Farmers Central Committee, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Women's Union Central Committee. Members of the delegation were also received by deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Tomas Travnicek. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 3 Dec 82 LD]

ENVOY TO INDIA APPOINTED--Gustav Husak, president of the republic, has appointed Jaromir Nehera ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia to India. At the same time, he recalled Pavel Kanka from that post. [Text] [LD040351 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Dec 82 LD]

YAR ENVOY RECEIVED--Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, today received at Cernin Palace the ambassador of the Yem Arab Republic, Yahya 'Abd Ar-Rahman Ibn 'Ali Al-Iryani, who is taking up his post. The two officials discussed the opportunities for further developing bilateral relations, as well as some contemporary international problems, particularly the situation in the area of the Arabian Peninsula. [Text] [LD040351 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Dec 82 LD]

CSO: 2400/76



PZPR MEETINGS IN KRAKOW AND NOWY SACZ NOTED

'Kuznica' Club Address by Orzechowski

KRAKOW, NOWY SACZ in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (cis)]

[Text] The Friday [4 June 1982] meeting with the secretary of the Central Committee, Marian Orzechowski, which took place in the "Kuznica" Club, was partly of a seminar nature, since historians dominated both behind the table of the presidium, as well as in the audience. The subject of the meeting, which was held under the slogan of celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, was the publication of the 6-volume "History of the Workers Movement in Poland," which is under preparation.

The decision about its publication, as Professor Orzechowski, a historian by profession recalled, was included in the Resolution of the 6th Congress of the PZPR. Work began in 1973, and although some volumes are nearly ready, the publication of this monumental work is being delayed because the twists and turns which recently took place in our country brought about the need to verify many texts. Such at least was the position of the co-authors from Krakow and Warsaw, who were present in the room. Incidentally, their position was criticized by Professor Serczyk, who said that scientific criteria (if history is to be considered a science) cannot depend on the twists and turns of history. His was, however, I think a theoretical postulate rather than an applicable theory, especially when dealing with such a recent period as in, for example, the final volume.

How is this work, so impressive in its concept, to look and how far advanced is its progress?

Volume I, comprising the period through the year 1890 is nearly ready and should appear this year. Volume II, reaching to 1919, is furthest behind, because of the death of its principal author, Professor Kalabinski. Volume III, which deals with the interwar period, is near its finalization. Volume IV, the period of World War II, is ready. Volume V including the years 1944-1948 (to the Unification) already has a preliminary version, which however requires correction. Volume VI, which brings in the history of the PZPR, is basically in disarray, because that is the volume creating most of the problems.

It is also worth knowing that "The History" will have its own one-volume appendix, containing a chronology of events and compositions of the central authorities.

A separate idea for publishing is the implementation of the resolution of the 6th Plenary Assembly of the Central Committee regarding the publication of a one-volume synthesis, which could serve as a kind of popular manual of the history of the workers movement in Poland. The second guest at the "Kuznica" Club, the prorector of the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS), Docent Dr Habilitatus Jan Sobczak, recalled also that monographs are being created separately and have already appeared on the "Proletariat," the PPS, and in preparation is a history of the KPP.

The wide range of questions posed at the beginning of the discussion by the leader of the meeting, Andrzej Kozanecki, was probably responsible for the fact that the discussion lasted several hours. It would be impossible to report it here fully.

Thus we may stress along with Professor Orzechowski, that it will not be a history of a political movement, leadership groups, or even parties. The work should present, or at least such is its intention, five great developmental trends comprising society, classes, the nation, the movement, the party. The problems are numerous: from showing the national, native character of the Polish workers movement, through the battle for the heritage of "Proletariat," through various difficult twists and turns of the history of the KPP, or the still not fully explained death of Marcelli Nowotko, or finally the evaluation of the person of Gomulka, a subject which whipped up many controversies during the meeting. It is in any case a feature of the current status of the works that the authors, as reviewers declare, have managed to depart from narrow polonocentrism.

An interesting trend was dealt with by Docent Sobczak, among others, in his remarks; namely the question of figures in the Polish workers movement who would be synonymous with it. The thing is striking because, for example, Rosa Luxemburg, after Lenin, remains the most fascinating figure of the world workers' movement and a lot of attention has been paid to her theoretical works.

In his turn Docent Dr Habilitatus Zenobiusz Kozik from the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences], who deals with the most recent theme (PZPR), postulated that the range of limitations in the research process should be minimal; a problem which, considering its current dimensions, became the subject of a theoretical controversy. One thing is sure, concealments cannot be avoided. It is worth mentioning that Dr Bronislaw Syzdek, the director of the Archives of the Central Committee of the PZPR, stressed that this phenomenon is not always caused by inaccessibility of sources. Sometimes securing oneself against responsibility is the reason.

Besides the above-mentioned guests of the "Kuznica" Club, reknown scientists-historians participated in the discussion: Professor Celina Bobinska, Professor Buszko, Professor Podraza, Professor Serczyk, Docent Pilch, and also

Wladyslaw Machejek. Perhaps "Zdanie" will report the course of the meeting. On our part we can only hope that the consecutive volumes of the "History of the Workers' Movement" will soon appear on the book market and will not be so hermetic that this work is inaccessible to the wide masses of readers, for whom the history of the workers' movement is like wandering through the traces of their ancestors, in search of their own genealogy.

'Kuznica' Club Meeting With Orzechowski

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (wk): "Problems of the Workers' Movement. Rebuilding the Authority and Strength of the Party"]

[Text] (Own Information) To tell the truth, that [above] slogan was the leitmotif of the recent meeting in the "Kuznica" Club. The history of these meetings already has its own tradition [sic], a tradition of discussion and unrestrained conversation. Such was the case also at the latest, Friday meeting with Prof Dr Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR and a group of scientists from the Warsaw Higher School of Social Sciences. This meeting was devoted to the presentation of the problems with which the authors and publishers of the multi-volume history of the Polish workers movement wrestled; the work the Resolution of the 6th Congress of the PZPR demanded to be published. The problems are indeed many and complicated, because while the historiography of the workers' movement in Poland is subject to the same rules as all other social and humanist sciences, at the same time it is also subject to the laws of an ideological and political struggle; it is both the weapon and the subject of the struggle.

In his address, Marian Orzechowski stressed precisely this moment of assessing anew the value of our own history, its successive interpretations and reinterpretations, which have accompanied each "turn-taking" in our contemporary history. It would also be a mistake--Marian Orzechowski continued in his address--to put the history of the workers movement only in its political aspect. The workers movement is a multilevel phenomenon, and its traditions transcend the narrow by nature scope of purely ideological questions. In this particular domain there exist too large "blank spots." The needs of research demand a proper elucidation of the issue of the dissolution of the KPP, a new, comprehensive look at the whole of the relations in the workers' movement, both interorganizational relations (the question of the PPS and the SDKPiL) and all conditions of the workers movement as well as external and internal conditions.

But discussions also belong to "Kuznica" Club traditions. One can hope then that this Friday conversation in the Krakow club will to some degree influence the final shape of the publication. This issue was sharply and clearly put forward by Prof Dr Wladyslaw Serczyk, who asked about the concept of publication of the intended work, a concept which could, after all, oscillate between the extremes of a contemporary party document and a scientific work. A change of opinions following a consecutive crisis is a dangerous thing for

historiography. The attitude of the writer, the historian who must make a choice between the variant of a chronicler's record or an interpretation, is crucial.

A journalistic presentation of all addresses always impoverishes their ideas. Thus it is impossible in this necessarily short note to report all the addresses and voices, even such an interesting and constructive one as that of Prof Dr Celina Bobinska. The important thing however is that this particular confrontation of the "Krakow" historical school with Warsaw researchers should above all be to the advantage of the scheduled work.

#### Nowy Sacz Meeting With Orzechowski

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by K. Bryndza]

[Text] (Own Information) Last Saturday [5 June 1982] secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR Marian Orzechowski came to Rabka for a meeting with the party aktiv of the Nowy Sacz voivodship. As was noted during the welcome, Rabka for the first time was host to such a high party official. The Central Committee secretary began his longer [sic] address with a report on the situation in the country and in the party after 13 December 1981, that is from the moment of the interrupting of the mad course of events. At that point he referred to the sources of the draft of the ideological-programmatic "Declaration" of the PZPR. Anticipating questions, he said that, despite a difference of opinions among the party members, the "Declaration" need not be one more document thrown on the rubbish heap of history, provided that we all would wish to give it a vigorous form. We are aware of the fact that the military will not resolve all the problems to the end: it can create the conditions and framework for bringing back normalization and democratization. Let us remember: the party, broken up from within and without, was weakened in general. Weakened ideologically, it lost its identity. Today we already know what to do in order for the PZPR to regain the ability and the strength to act, in order for it to be needed by the working class. And from this point of view the discussion over the theses of the "Declaration," although critical, served its basic function. Since December the party has trod a long path. The majority of the basic organizations are capable of action, and they mainly determine the party's image. There is progress in the consolidation of the ranks. Now a more difficult period awaits us: coming out, proving that the way shown by the party leads to the goal, contrary to the insinuations of the still active opposition, which wants to lead the nation nowhere. There is a period ahead of us during which we should overcome apathy, lack of faith, doubts. There are attempts at instigating, weakening, dividing and agitating the party. The struggle goes on. Winning battles doesn't mean you have won the war; this should be remembered.

After an intermission Marian Orzechowski answered two rounds of questions; those presented earlier in writing, and those taken from the floor. Here are some of them:

[Question] What is the forecast for easing the rigors of martial law?

[Answer] Our adversaries must reconcile themselves to the process of normalization in the country, and cease actions against order. Much depends on social attitudes. The decisions of martial law in economic matters are not short range.

[Question] Why was "Solidarity" not delegialized?

[Answer] This matter does not lie in the categories of a legal act, or a given decree. Millions of people cannot be identified with "Solidarity's" top and with the active antisocialist extremists. It would be a political mistake.

[Question] When will people responsible for the pre-1980 crisis and those who later aggravated this crisis be brought to trial?

[Answer] In his speech at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski did not use as a rhetorical embellishment the following statement..."Let us remember however that gathering evidence on every case is arduous work. The weight of the accusations requires careful preparation and documenting the evidence. We can hardly model ourselves on the practice of Iranian courts, for example."

[Question] Unemployment, relocations, requalifications, earlier retirement--such social processes, among others, were planned. In practice only retirement was implemented....

[Answer] I agree. And certainly with some harm to the economy, because many good, experienced and needed people left.

[Question] How much truth is there in the rumors about an increase in the prices of flour and flour products?

[Answer] There hasn't been any such thing planned. Competent people spoke about other increases.

[Question] Is the change in the position of the minister, the head of the Office for Religious Affairs, to be an announcement of a new course toward the Church?

[Answer] The course in relation to the Church is unequivocal and established. Putting aside all other reasons--it is not in the interest of the state and the party to create an additional battlefield. We will try to resist attempts to create such a front.

[Question] Will the Pope's visit to Poland take place this year?

[Answer] Regarding this there have been no binding decisions either on either side.

[Question] What is the conception of the party in creating a platform for understanding?

[Answer] It is understandable and clear. To quote Lenin: Socialism cannot be built with the hands of communists only. [The conception is] to bring together people standing for the Constitution; all those, who are not against us. The elements of understanding are: the cooperation with the PZPR, ZSL, SD, the alliance of workers and peasants, the OKON social movement, and all that which furthers progress.

The First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR in Nowy Sacz, Jozef Brozek, among others, participated in the meeting with the aktiv and lecturers.

#### Plenum on Agricultural, Food Problems

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Antoni Kiemystowicz]

[Text] (Own Information) In the Nowy Sacz Party House (Dom Partii) the voivodship echelons of the PZPR and ZSL made an evaluation of the implementation of the guidelines of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR and NK of the [Peasant] Party (ZSL) in the question of the key problems of agricultural policy, agriculture, and food economy in the Nowy Sacz voivodship.

I quote the motto of the deliberations: "The aim today is not to lack perseverance and stubbornness in working for the implementation of the guidelines." In the report delivered by the secretary of the voivodship committee, Tadeusz Rabianski, is the answer: "They [the guidelines] coincide with the thinking of the farmers."

An attitude common to the party and the ZSL is that the political opposition, which brought the battle into the countryside, made the implementation of guidelines in these key issues difficult. What's more, endless discussions and negotiations, eternal "consultations" and reaching agreement did not move these issues forward but effectively slowed their realization. To this can be added the factor of weakening and then breaking economic ties between the city and the countryside--which was the consequence of raising purchasing prices in April of last year and diminishing the supply of agricultural products. Anarchy and uneconomical management followed. Chaos deepened.

Imposition of martial law put an end to the destructive actions of the opposition, made possible the initiation of political and economic reforms, and also created better conditions for the implementation of guidelines.

This was and is served by important and justified decisions, among others, the introduction of uniform prices for agriculture as a whole, identical possibilities for access to the land, unified conditions for credit and rules

for sales of agricultural products. The statement of the leadership of the PZPR and the ZSL was well received: if we want to treat the reform seriously, we must be aware of all the new rules in the national economy. In agricultural production the normal criteria of the economic calculus and profitability must govern. For this is the only way to act rationally and logically toward agriculture--be it collective, cooperative or private.

Nowy Sacz voivodship is agriculturally a difficult land. The types of soil, the configuration of the terrain, the cultivation which has so far been applied, dictate the effects. If these are not the worst on the national scale, it is due to wise, proprietary and sensitive care that [farmers] get the most from the barren land. It was stressed that in this region machines, tools and means for agricultural production are lacking, but the enormous effort of the peasant to wrest out the most from the land is visible. Visible also is the care to give the land as much as possible. Such thinking has future.

The whole nation is responsible for agriculture, its development and perspectives. Jan Jurek from Lipnica Wielka said directly: "Our agriculture is able to feed not one but two Polands." Megalomania? No. There is much justification in it. This is how one should and must think. There is no other way.

In the plenary discussion of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR and the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, which was led interchangeably by First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee, Jozef Brozek, and Chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, Stanislaw Smierciak, the following spoke consecutively: Antoni Kolarz from Sidzina, Jan Barzyk from Siary, Jan Jurek from Lipnica Wielka, Kazimierz Garbacz from Lack, Jerzy Miskowiec from Dobra, Antoni Hobler from Mystkow, Stanislaw Krolczyk from Czorsztyn, Edward Warmuz from Nowy Targ, Jozef Mokrzycki from Korzenna, Marian Kulpa from Nowy Sacz, Zofia Mroz from Nowy Sacz, Jan Szewczyk from Krynica, and the chairman of the WKR--Jan Boczon. The discussion was enriched by the remarks of the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Brozek, and guests: the head of Agriculture and Food Department of the PZPR, Stanislaw Zieba, and Presidium member, secretary of the NK of the ZSL, Jozef Koziol. Jozef Oleksy, head of the Bureau of the CKR also participated in the discussion.

The Voivodship Committee of the PZPR and the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL formulated a joint resolution. The members of the Party and the ZSL were obliged to show a particular care for the development of the Nowy Sacz agriculture, individual responsibility for the implementation of the adopted document, wise and progressive thinking about the future of the Nowy Sacz countryside--its today and tomorrow.

#### Plenum on Agricultural Production Planning

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 22 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (tacz): "One Agriculture, One Agricultural Policy"]

[Text] This [above] slogan could actually be the motto of yesterday's deliberations, during which members of the voivodship authorities of the PZPR

and the ZSL sat at a common table to discuss the implementation of the guidelines of the Central Committee and of the Presidium of the NK of the ZSL in key issues of agricultural policy in the area of Nowy Sacz voivodship. The deliberations were presided over by the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR, Jozef Brozek and the chairman of the Voivodship Committee of the ZSL, Stanislaw Smierciak. Also participating were: Jozef Koziol, member of the Presidium, secretary of the NK of the ZSL, Stanislaw Zieba, head of the Agriculture and Food Department, and Jozef Oleksy, head of the CKR Bureau of the PZPR.

One agriculture signifies a break with favoring the collectivized sector, something that was confirmed last year by introducing a reform to that branch of the economy. In Nowy Sacz voivodship only 5 percent of arable land belongs to collective farms and state farms, thus private farmers' work determines [agricultural] results. Tadeusz Rabianski, a secretary of the voivodship committee of the PZPR, stressed in a report presented at the plenum that it is especially important that present possibilities for growth in agricultural production create, in addition to a whole sphere of supplies and services, uniform prices, credit conditions, and possibilities for access to the land.

The discussion, in which more than a dozen people presented their opinions, did not undermine this thesis: also on the local level the principles of agricultural policy are applied in agreement with the intention of the central authorities. Nevertheless in many specific, more concrete issues there remains much to be corrected.

Nowy Sacz voivodship desires to strengthen the direction of production for which it is known in the country, that is, horticulture, cattle breeding (including milk cows) and sheep breeding. For this, it needs an injection of the means of production, namely machinery and equipment especially adapted to mountainous terrain. A suggestion was even made during the discussion that the Nowy Sacz NOWOMAG, which now supplies equipment for mining, should specialize in such production. More important for us is Nowy Sacz agriculture, argued Antoni Hobler, a farmer from Mystkow, not to mention the coal supply, something which does not stir up such emotions in the summer.

Much attention was paid to the profitability of production. One has to worry about the low price of piglets, which, as Jan Jurek from Lipnica Wielka said, no one wants to buy even though they cost only 3,000 zlotys a pair; thus the forecasts for the production of hogs are not good. This is simply the result of lack of fodder.

The plenary discussion dealt with a very wide thematic range. The participants tackled an ambitious task: to cover in a few hours the questions most vital for the agriculture of Nowy Sacz. Thus they debated the need to improve the work of agricultural service, to reduce its bureaucracy and to make closer contact with farms; the activity of cooperative farms which, although they farm worse soils, have produced results which are not bad. They spoke about the insufficiency of trade shops working for agriculture in the countryside, even though permission to open them is continuously being issued.



The deliberations did not settle even one concrete issue, because that was not the aim of the plenum. However, many problems noted by the farmers (including nonparty, who were invited to the deliberations) found their way into the notebooks of the representatives of the voivodship and central authorities. And once again the significance of agriculture in the whole economic system was emphasized as well as the necessity of helping the countryside in order finally to implement the supreme goal of socialism--to improve the subsistence of society. The fact that many ministries do not treat the needs of agriculture as their own shows that such actions will be needed for a long time to come.

12270

CSO: 2600/86

JEWISH PAPER REPORTS ON RABBI ROSEN'S VISIT TO U.S.

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Sep 82 pp 1, 5

["The Visit to the United States of His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen"]

[Excerpts] At the invitation of Jack Spitzer, president of the Bnai Brith International Organization, extended in the name of the Conference of Presidents of Large Jewish Organizations in the United States of America, His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen left the country on 1 August 1982 to travel to the United States.

The invitation was extended to enable His Eminence to have direct and personal contact with members of the American Senate and Congress and with officials of the administration for the purpose of establishing the truth about the way in which the Aliya (the traditional name for the reuniting of Jews in the world in the land of Israel) of Jews from Romania is being carried out.

It should be remembered (the Jewish people will never forget this but it seems that some people, who would like to forget, must be reminded of this fact from time to time) that, taking into consideration the great Jewish tragedy of the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel, the Romanian Government has made it possible, without demonstrations and without hubbub, during the past 35 years, for more than 350,000 Romanian Jews, that is, about 90 percent of the 400,000 Jews who were still living after the liberation of the country from fascism, to join their families in Israel. No other country in the West or the East can present such a record, neither in absolute figures nor in percentages.

Despite these obvious and incontestable facts, false statistics have been circulated once again; once again, certain circles have tried to give a distorted picture of the situation; once again, they have believed that they could cover up some other unmentionable interests through the use of a "Jewish problem" which does not exist in Romania.

With the patriotic sentiments which characterize him, with a constant desire to make a contribution to the cause of peace and collaboration among peoples, with the abiding love which he feels for Israel and for her noble ideals, with the fanatical passion for the truth which inspires him, His Eminence accepted the mission of "peace and truth."

A meeting of the Conference of Presidents was held on 4 August [in New York], under the leadership of its chairman, Julius Berman. Chairman Berman and Vice-Chairman Yehuda Hellman welcomed His Eminence with words of respect and esteem. His Eminence presented the leaders of American Judaism with the respective reports: a) on persons who left for Israel in 1982; b) on persons who received approval during the course of 1982 but have not left yet; c) on persons whose requests are still being resolved. These records show clearly that there has been an increase and not a decrease in comparison with preceding years (1979, 1980, 1981).

On 9 August, an article "Using the Jews," written by Rabbi Rosen, appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES. The article had a great effect, both in the ranks of political personalities and among the millions of readers of this newspaper. (We publish below a translation of this article.)

On 9 August, there was a reception in honor of His Eminence, given by Bnai Brith International in Washington, at the Capitol. A number of senators and other political personalities attended the reception. His Eminence gave a report on the situation of the Jewish communities, on demographic aspects and on issues related to the Aliya, supplying names and precise statistics.

Then he responded to various questions, asked in a spirit of understanding, respect and esteem. In regard to the matter of religious freedom, His Eminence stated:

"It is my intention to limit myself to the Jewish aspect of the matter. However, when there is a discussion of religious freedom in Romania, I cannot keep from speaking as a religious leader who has been the shepherd for his community for more than 34 years. Before God and men, I can only say that millions of Orthodox Christian, Catholic, Evangelical Lutheran, and Moslem believers and persons of other faiths (there are 14 faiths in Romania) are subject to no restrictions in the practice of their religion and they carry on their religious life in complete freedom. The tens of thousands of churches of the Romanian Orthodox Church and of the other religions function on a regular basis. An atmosphere of brotherhood and cooperation reigns among the religions, from the top hierarchies down to the masses of believers. This is the real situation and anyone who comes to Romania (and hundreds of thousands or even millions of tourists come) can only confirm this truth which has become self-evident for us, the citizens of Romania."

CSO: 2700/47

ROMANIA

ANNOUNCEMENT ON REQUESTS FOR EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Sep 82 p 5

["Announcement"]

[Text] The Federation of Jewish Communities once again informs all Jews who are submitting requests for permanent departure for Israel for the purpose of joining their families that they can register these requests in the Jewish Communities of their cities of residence, so that the Federation will have a record of the requests and will be able to monitor their approval. The registrations will take place every workday, except Saturdays and Jewish holidays, at the headquarters of the respective communities.

President of the Federation of Jewish Communities  
Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen

General Secretary  
Emil Sechter

CSO: 2700/47

'CREATIVE' APPLICATION OF ENGELS' IDEAS ADVOCATED

AU041346 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Dec 82

["Creative Spirit: A Permanent Feature of Scientific Socialism"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Dec, AGERPRES--An article published under the above headline in daily SCINTEIA of December 3 in marking 162 years since Friederich Engels' birth, stresses the contribution of the prominent theoretician, organizer and leader of international proletariat, alongside with Karl Marx, to the working out of the materialist dialectics, to the turning of communism from utopia into science, to the theoretic generalization of the experience of the international working-class movement.

Recalling that Friedrich Engels followed with interest and attention the affirmation of the Romanian proletariat in the second half of the 19th century as a revolutionary force in the country's sociopolitical life, and the ascent of the socialist movement, showing keen interest in the Romanian people's history and culture, SCINTEIA writes:

The working-class movement in Romania takes pride in having managed to espouse the ideas of scientific socialism soon after their emergence, which speeded up the process of ideological clarification and political organization, and the development of its links with the international working-class movement.

The truthfulness to the Marxist theory, the preoccupation to creatively apply it were a fundamental feature throughout the history of the working-class movement in Romania, accounting for an essential factor of the big victories won by the Romanian people under the RCP leadership, in the struggle for national liberation and in the socialist construction.

The approach to the revolutionary theory in a creative spirit is the more necessary in our days as the deep-going transformations come about in the world; the tremendous diversity of conditions in which the world revolutionary process proceeds face the communist and workers' parties and the revolutionary forces with new problems that cannot find solution in the past social practice.

It is in this spirit that the RCP carries on its activity.

The period elapsed since the 9th congress of the party proved to be very rich in achievements and this is first of all thanks to the vast creative activity unfolded by the party and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mentioning that the anniversary of Engels' birth takes place in conditions of the historical dispute between socialism and capitalism acquiring new accents, as the bourgeois propaganda intensified its attacks on the working-class, socialist conception about world and society, SCINTEIA shows that the appreciations of the founders of Marxism become topical, namely that the laws in social life and historical development find areas of manifestation through the agency of human activity, of social groups, and the objective existence of these laws presupposes the active intervention both practically, for the creation of the framework of manifestation of the respective laws and for actively contributing to the moulding of the future, and theoretically, in order to combat the attempts to distort the true meaning of historical evolution, to approach a question of such cardinal importance from the angle of narrow and reactionary class interests. Today, when the debate on the concepts of the sense of history and historical progress ceased being a strictly theoretical dispute, having instead an essential political importance, the progressive researchers are bound to study the mechanism of social determinism, which is obviously more complex in the modern society, to develop and enrich the conceptions holding positions of historical progress. The combating of these theses which want to halt the course of history, which promote obsolete outlooks of social management and organization and which maintain that the answers to the new problems posed by society today can be found in the past, is an objective necessity and the success of such an action first of all demands the unity of the progressive forces everywhere.

Organically blending the efforts devoted to the prosperity of socialist homeland with those for the intensification of the relations of solidarity with all socialist countries, with the developing countries and the non-aligned countries, with the working-class and communist, socialist and social-democratic parties, with the progressive and democratic organizations everywhere in view of strengthening the unity of the anti-imperialist front and of all peace and progress loving forces, the RDP discharges creditably its tasks as an active detachment of the contemporary evolutionary movement.

CSO: 2020/8

'SCINTEIA' ON 'SUBVERSIVE' NATURE OF ELITISM

AU041437 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Dec 82

["SCINTEIA on Subversive Character of Theories of Elites"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Dec, AGERPRES--An extensive article signed by Liviu Zapirtan, carried by SCINTEIA of December 3, reveals the meaning of the so-called "updatings" of the theories of elites, cautioning that basically they aim at "justifying the inequalities and inequalities of the contemporary capitalist world".

The article warns that although elitism has been compromised for good with its integration in the fascist ideology, in recent years it has reemerged, seemingly purified from its retrograde, conservative, traditional content; it is presented as "compatible with the bourgeois democracy", the latter being viewed as a "supreme stage of democracy" by the non-Marxist ideology. More minute research, the article goes on, attests to the fact that this is an apparently subtle, actually brutal attack on certain perennial values of humanism--equality, democracy, etc--a defiance of certain aspirations that are dear to mankind.

Presenting the antidemocratic, retrograde character of certain elitist models and revealing the subversive meaning of the "changes" made by such theoreticians as W. W. Rostow, R. Dahl and M. Young, SCINTEIA reads:

In recent years, alongside the tendencies toward a resumption of certain theses of fascist elitism there proliferated also versions of another elitism that stems from older racist, biologicistic stands. The "new" elements derive not only from names ("the new right", biopolitics, sociobiology), but also from the efforts made for substantiating the ideological these with data supplied by the contemporary sciences. The main thesis of biopolitics is the so-called natural inequality among races and individuals that would presumably render masses unable to make historic decisions and the elites would "objective" play the decisive part in social development.

It is in the same ideological framework that fall the political theories of sociobiologists, representatives of what we can call a new aspect of elitism. According to this orientation even the political structure itself follows

biological rules and consequently at the top of power there will be selected an elite with a strong instinct of domination, able users of the techniques of domination and manipulation of the masses.

This is, no doubt, a biologic and mechanic oriented reductionism and a deforming interpretation of scientific data meant to "prove" viability of obsolete conceptions that caused countless suffering to mankind. The fact is telling that many scholars, researchers in social sciences have powerfully branded the abuse and distorting use of scientific achievements to justify the profoundly inegalitarian structures of the capitalist society.

Irrespective of their arguments and, to a certain extent, of the moment when they were elaborated the theories of elites play an essentially conservative, reactionary role as their aim is to support the values of the ruling classes. The attempts of promoting elitism in various ways express the effort of refining the interests of the ruling classes, of presenting them as something with no relations to history or time and organically linked to human condition.

The essence of the criticism made by the elitist theories is the contempt for the masses. Opposing the masses, elitism opposes the criteria of progress, reveals its essentially retrograde content. The resort to authoritarianism, the immixture in social life, the contempt for progressive sociopolitical assets, for those specific to the socialist system in particular, the predilection for hierarchism, for a preestablished order make the elitist theories run counter not only the socialist democracy but also any type of humanism.

Given its ideological meaning, the notion of elite is improper to denominate the political leaders of the masses of people, the most active ministers of the interests of the exploited classes. In this context, the Marxist conception, casting light on the basic precepts of revolutionary humanism, shows that the leaders, the historic personalities, who spared no efforts to serve the interests of the people, have always guided the masses in their political actions. It is precisely to distinguish the historical position of the leaders of the masses that Marxism uses the notion of historic personality, characterized by a close link to the masses, to the social classes whose interests he is called upon to serve.

In conclusion the article reads: The subversive character of the elitist theories has often been highlighted in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party which stress that the non-Marxist ideology manifests the reactionary tendency to revive obsolete theories regarding the role of the creators of spiritual values considered as an elite that holds the monopoly of understanding the fundamental problems in society, or social leadership that manifests full contempt for the masses. [sentence as received] The newspaper considers the active fight against the modern elitist theories, bearers of a conservative, anti-democratic and anti-humanist message, opposing progress, disguised defenders of the existing capitalist order, of the supremacy of the rich, as a lofty duty of the progressive thinking everywhere.



IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE ON ATTACKS AGAINST SOCIALISM

AU042058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 4 Dec--SCINTEIA of December 4 renders on a full page opinions set forth during a debate on ideological questions by Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Science and study of the national question, by Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea and Dr Elena Zamfirescu who stress that the main goals pursued by the "ideological strategy" of anti-socialism promoted by Western reactionary circles consist in demobilizing the masses in their struggle for social equality and justice, concealing the profound social inequities just as the serious consequences of the general crisis of capitalism. [as received]

The note preceding the addresses the participants made during the debate shows that, although the attacks against socialism are not new, it can be noticed that the virulence of the respective criticism is inversely proportional to the "performances" the capitalist society registers on a socioeconomic plane. Whenever the capitalist order faces difficult problems, as it happens nowadays in the conditions of the generalized crisis of capitalism, whenever it is given obvious recoils--the newspaper shows--the fire of the bourgeois propaganda is intensified and directed against socialism to prove what cannot be proved: that "the capitalist order would be the only one apt to ensure the progress of society", that "socialism would be inept to be a model worthy of being followed". This criticism--SCINTEIA further shows--claims to be an answer, from the position of narrow, reactionary political interests, to such theoretical questions of a major importance as the course of history, the evolution of historical movement and social progress.

The participants in the debate point to the new traits of the anticommunist propaganda, to the causes of the intensification of apologetic theories with regard to the so-called superiority of capitalist democracy as well as to the elements of superiority specific to socialism in the historical confrontation with capitalism.

The furious attacks against socialism are accompanied by a sustained and subtle propaganda in favour of the order that enables the maintenance of the bourgeoisie's domineering positions, [comma as received] in favor of capitalism--one of the participants shows adding that the main goal of the criticism of

socialism is that of negating the role of socialism as an historic alternative to the capitalist society as well as of supporting the prospects of the capitalist society. Going along the same line are the attacks on human rights and liberties: disparagement and misinterpretation of socialism from the stands and the angles of the bourgeois practices of rights and freedoms. The current "cannonade" against socialism—as a historical fact and a social ideal—has been initiated under the circumstances of the new stage in the crisis of capitalism. It is not only a means of distraction, of diverting the masses' attention from the difficulties encountered by the Western economic and socio-political system but also a form of an indirect apology of the bourgeois society—another participant in the debate notes.

It is stressed that the relaunching of the leitmotifs of the Marxism's "crisis" falls within the same logic of counteracting the aspiration for social and political changes of the masses of people in the capitalist countries. Despite misinterpretations, Marxism continues to be a live presence through its open and creative spirit, through its methodology which imposed itself in the interpretation of social life and of its prospects. Its presence is all the more obsessive and irritating as an ever larger number of Western researchers point out that the Marxist point of view is one of the most fertile ones, that it cannot be made "marginal" since it is a major point of reference in the endeavours of comprehending and changing the contemporary world. It is also mentioned that the current economic difficulties in the socialist countries are brought about, to a great extent, by the world economic crisis, for the beginning of which the developed capitalist countries and the inequitable relations they promote are mainly responsible.

The final part of the debate focuses on the demand for a realistic understanding of the current evolution of socialism, and highlights that "the socialist society is a live body which develops, raises questions which should be solved and it tries to solve, which encounters difficulties that, part of them, stem from the character of socialist construction and part from the realities of the international relations, from the reality of the world in which the respective construction proceeds, difficulties which should be and will be surmounted. If negative phenomena were apparent in socialism, they do not derive organically and necessarily from the nature of socialism or from the nature of the relations among the socialist countries. They are not an inevitable effect of the principles of socialism; on the contrary, they show that its principles are not applied to the full. The participants in the debate point to the significance of observing the principles of socialism with regard to the creation of a unitary socialist economic base, with the consistent achievement of an equity—and justice—based socialist distribution, the promotion of the Communist Party's leading role in forms and ways apt to strengthen its links with the broad masses of people, the institution of efficient forms of masses' participation in governing society, the development of consciousness and civic responsibility through a steady and systematic ideological and political-educative work in the ranks of all social categories.

In this respect, emphasis is placed on the deep significance of the Romanian Communist Party's creative attitude in solving the problems posed by life, in providing such conditions as the socialist system may turn its valences to best account. Such an attitude to the questions raised by the building of the

new system expresses the RCP's firm belief that socialism, although not absolved of shortcomings and mistakes, although confronted with difficulties, is able to eliminate and surmount them by consistently applying revolutionary principles according to the specific historical conditions in each country.

CSO: 2020/8

# TELEVISION PROGRAM ON YOUTH CLUB ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 29 Oct 82 p 13

[Article by Dorin Gherghinescu: "Let us respect the truth!"

[Excerpts] On Saturday, 23 October 1982, our television showed some pictures of aspects of the activity of the Flacara Club of Revolutionary Youth organized by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and the review FLACARA. This was another one of those efforts by which, from time to time, the small screen seems to give the impression that it does not even want to satisfy the curiosity of the public in connection with a cultural activity which is much beloved by the youth. Such a broadcast is, in itself, or, more correctly, should be, a cultural act and the demands placed upon it require a correct presentation. Therefore, the distortion of the real picture of the thing presented signifies not only a lack of confidence in one's own work but also an abuse of the truth and of the public which has the right to be informed correctly.

Unfortunately, due to an unallowable mentality, a distorted and impoverished picture was presented, last Saturday, of the work and art of the Flacara Club. Since it already had experience with situations of this same type, the Flacara Club requested publicly that insignificant fragments of the activity of the Club no longer be presented on the national television station, since the way this club looks, from some sketches here and there, it is better to keep your children home. This absolutely justified request was not taken into consideration. Serious damage has been caused both to the Flacara Club and to culture.

The peak of the lack of attention in choosing truly significant selections is found in the fact that only the song "Iancu in Tebea" was mentioned from the great demonstration which took place in Tebea, as a sign of homage by today's generations, especially the youth, to the great national hero on the 110th anniversary of departure of Avram Iancu from the Apuseni forests to the forests of eternity, this extraordinary event of music and poetry. The production and broadcasting of this program took place without consulting the leadership of the Club. We will not even mention the fact that, according to regulations in effect, the Flacara Club could demand royalties for the use of its work by television, just like a theater, for example. But how can one justify the fact that Adrian Paunescu, the leader and motivating spirit of the Flacara Club, appeared to be the producer of this broadcast which did a disservice to the ideas and prestige of the Club? Who has assumed the improper right to do whatever he wants with the image of the Flacara Club and with the name of its leader, to their detriment and in opposition to the most basic truth?

## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

JEWS NOT CONSIDERED IMMIGRANTS--[Report by Avino'am Bar-yosef]--"Romania does not regard Jews leaving its territory and emigrating to Israel as immigrants. These are not citizens fleeing the socialist regime in search for a different standard of living but people taking part in a natural process of family reunions." These remarks were made by Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute for Training Cadres in Problems of Socio-Political Management of the Romanian Communist Party, in a banquet in Bucharest in honor of the director of the Yad Vashem Institute, Dr Yitzhaq Arad. This is the first utterance by a Romanian political figure that distinguishes between the immigration of Jews and that of other nationalities from Romania to the West. Many Germans living in Romania asked to immigrate in the wake of the permits issued to Jews wishing to immigrate to Israel. "Yad Vashem" and the Romanian Institute signed an agreement on exchanging publications and documents and on exchanging researchers for 30 days every year. The agreement also provides for the participation in scientific conventions and for holding annual meetings between historians of both sides. The first convention, scheduled to be held in the spring of 1983, will deal with the situation of Romanian Jews during World War II. [Text] [TA051312 Tel Aviv MA'ARTV in Hebrew 5 Dec 82 p 6]

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